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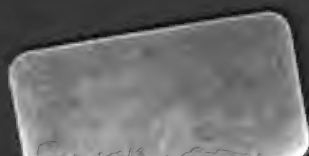
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JERUSALEM.

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THE
SIEGE OF JERUSALEM
BY TITUS.

WITH THE JOURNAL OF A RECENT VISIT TO THE
HOLY CITY, AND A GENERAL SKETCH OF THE TOPOGRAPHY OF JERUSALEM
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES DOWN TO THE SIEGE.

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LONDON:
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1863.

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TO
THE RIGHT HON. LORD ST. LEONARDS.

MY LORD,

I had the honour, many years since, of dedicating to your Lordship a Treatise, now not unknown in the legal profession; and as I attribute its success in some measure to the impulse originally given to it by your Lordship's patronage, I indulge the hope that another work of a totally different character, the fruit of my leisure hours, may also recommend itself to favour by an introduction to the public under the same happy auspices.

To your Lordship, therefore, the following pages are, by permission, inscribed; and should even the stamp of your Lordship's name fail to give currency to my labours, I shall at least derive the satisfaction—that they afforded me an opportunity of testifying my respect for your Lordship, and of expressing my grateful sense of the many favours which I have received at your Lordship's hands.

I remain

Your Lordship's humble and devoted servant,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE following Work consists of three distinct Parts, all converging to the same point—the illustration of the topography of Jerusalem.

The first composed was the *Third* in the present arrangement—viz. the ‘General Sketch of the Topography.’ The author at that time had not visited the Holy City, and all the critics commented upon the boldness of the attempt to describe a place which had not been seen. The error, if it was such, was easily corrected, and the author started for the East.

The *Second* Part contains the journal of his proceedings—not throughout his tour, which was an extended one, from the Black Sea to the Pyramids—but in the Holy Land, where the interest attaching to the localities would be a sufficient apology for a record of matter-of-fact investigations.

The idea of the *First* Part arose thus. It was felt that the ‘General Sketch of Jerusalem’ would, from its nature, yield but little entertainment; and it was feared that the journal would not prove much more attractive. If, therefore, the author wished to

introduce his readers to a knowledge of the topography, it occurred to him that the best and only successful mode of doing so would be to interweave his subject with a narrative of sufficient interest to outweigh the dulness of the local details. The last days of Jerusalem, so graphically described by Josephus, appeared to possess the necessary requisites, and hence 'The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus.'

If the author's prognostications be fulfilled, most of those who take up his volume will peruse the First Part; some will perseveringly find their way through the Second; and a few, imbued with antiquarian lore, or having made the holy places of Jerusalem their peculiar study, will struggle through the Third.

The author, in these pages, has laid before the reader all the information which he has been able to collect from previous publications or personal observation; but it must be confessed that, after all, a great part of the topography of Jerusalem lies buried some five fathoms under the surface, and we must wait patiently until further discovery furnish materials for arriving at great precision. It is matter of regret that the long-promised work of Signor Pierotti, which would no doubt have shed much additional light, has not yet issued from the press.

8 OLD SQUARE, LINCOLN'S INN :
August 10, 1803.

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THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

BY TITUS.

CHAPTER I.

'When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which are in Judæa flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto. For these be the days of vengeance, that all things which are written may be fulfilled. . . . And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon the earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring; men's hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming on the earth.'—Luke xxi. 20, 21, 22, 25, 26.

IN A.D. 70, and therefore thirty-seven years after the Crucifixion of our Lord, which was in A.D. 33, Titus, the son of Vespasian, and who had been left in command of the forces in Judæa on the elevation of his father to the Imperial purple, commenced his march against Jerusalem, the only city in which the rebellion, begun in A.D. 66, was still maintaining itself.

Titus at this time was in his twenty-ninth year. He did not exceed the ordinary height, but was well proportioned and strongly built. His countenance was lighted up with good-humour, and at the same time carried a dignified air that repelled intrusive familiarity. One of

the most accomplished men of the age in literary and polite acquirements, he could speak and write well, improvise a *jeu d'esprit*, take down a speech in shorthand, and was so skilful in penmanship, that, as he said of himself, had he not been Emperor he might have made a first-rate Forger. He was not inferior in military prowess, for no one could draw the bow with such unerring aim, as on one occasion twelve of the enemy, transfixcd by as many of his arrows, could testify. He was a good swordsman, as he had proved in many a hand to hand combat, and was particularly noted for dexterity in horsemanship. He had served as military tribune with credit under Vespasian in Britain, and had since commanded a brigade with equal or greater success in Judæa. If not entitled to rank with the great captains of antiquity, he was perfectly conversant with the art of war, and fully capable of conducting a campaign against a bold and resolute enemy. Titus, who was all amiability as Emperor, is said in these his earlier years to have leaned towards cruelty, and I fear that our narrative will furnish some substantial grounds for the accusation. As Emperor, also, he was a pattern of chastity, but in Judæa he became acquainted with the Cleopatra of the age, Berenice, the sister of Agrippa, King of Trachonitis, great-grandson of Herod, and they lived together until he ascended the throne of the Cæsars, when deference to public opinion led to a separation, which is reported to have been a painful one on both sides. The rumour was rife that he had promised her marriage, but there was no tribunal which could award damages against a Cæsar.

Of the forces at the disposition of Titus we can only form an approximate estimate, as Josephus has nowhere stated the exact amount. In the first place, he had

four legions or regiments of the line, viz. the famous 10th, which had immortalised itself under the first Cæsar in Gaul and Britain, now commanded by Lærcius Lepidus; the 12th, which had somewhat tarnished its laurels by a precipitate flight from Jerusalem at the outbreak of the war in A.D. 66; the 5th, commanded by Sextus Cerealis; and the 15th, commanded by Titus Phrygius.¹ The strength of a legion was usually about 4,200, which would yield for the four legions 16,800. These were the regulars, but the Romans had also in their pay a large force of irregulars formed into cohorts. Under Vespasian there had been twenty-three cohorts, of which ten contained 1,000 each, and the other thirteen 600 each,² making together 17,800. It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty what proportion of these auxiliaries was present with Titus, as two Egyptian cohorts only, of 1,000 each,³ are mentioned incidentally as commanded by Fronto Liturnius.⁴ However, the siege of Jerusalem was the great event of the war, and the utmost resistance was to be expected, and I think we may assume (after allowing deductions for garrison duty in distant parts) that one half at least of the whole number, or 8,900, were assembled under the walls of Jerusalem.

Such was the amount of the regulars and irregulars of the Roman army proper; but besides these Titus had under his banners the contingents furnished by the various potentates of Syria, the feudatories of Rome, as by Agrippa, King of Trachonitis; Antiochus, King of Commagene; Sohemus, King of Emesa; and Malchus, King of Petra. In an earlier stage of the war, the first three had furnished each 2,000 foot, and the last

¹ Bell. vi. 4, 3; v. 1, 6.

² Bell. iii. 4, 2.

³ See Bell. iii. 4, 2.

⁴ Bell. vi. 4, 3.

5,000 foot,¹ making together 11,000. At the present juncture the whole of these troops had probably been called upon to cooperate.

Hitherto we have spoken of the infantry, but Titus had also with him a considerable body of cavalry. Frequent mention is made of them in the course of the siege, and they were employed in repelling sallies, bringing assistance on sudden emergencies, scouring the country in search of supplies, and cutting off communication by the ordinary roads. Each legion had attached to it a squadron of 120 horse,² making together 480. Titus had also a body-guard of picked men to the number of 600.³ Thirteen of the cohorts had been recently accompanied by squadrons of 120 each,⁴ making together 1,500; and assuming, as in the case of the cohorts, that one half were present, we may reckon them at 750. Of the allies, it is mentioned in the course of the war that Agrippa, Antiochus, Sohemus, and Malchus had each furnished 1,000 horse,⁵ making together 4,000; but as cavalry would not be so much in request as infantry at a siege, we shall allow only one half of these, or 2,000.

The sum total of the Roman army would therefore, upon a rough estimate, stand as follows:

INFANTRY.

Four legions of 4,200 each	.	.	.	.	16,800
Auxiliary cohorts in Roman pay	.	.	.	.	8,900
Contingents of the allies	.	.	.	.	11,000
Total	.	.	.	.	36,700

¹ Bell. iii. 4, 2; and see ii. 18, 9.

² Bell. iii. 6, 2.

⁴ Bell. iii. 4, 2.

³ Bell. v. 2, 1.

⁵ Bell. iii. 4, 2.

CAVALRY.

Legionary squadrons	480
Body-guard	600
Squadrons of auxiliary cohorts	750
Squadrons furnished by allies	2,000
Total	<hr/> 3,880
Making a grand total of	<hr/> 40,530

These computations can scarcely be regarded as excessive. That the troops collected at Jerusalem amounted together to a very large force, may be inferred from the fact that they were able to erect a wall of circumvallation round the whole of Jerusalem, and five miles in length, in the course of three days. I am by no means sure that our estimate has not been considerably underrated, as we know that the Roman army in Judæa had not long before been computed by Josephus at about 60,000 men, besides camp followers.¹

The King Agrippa, of whom we have spoken, was the Agrippa before whom and whose sister Bernice Paul pleaded with so much eloquence in the time of Festus, and who was *almost* persuaded to be a Christian. He had not the courage to forfeit his petty kingdom by refusing to serve against his country; but at the same time he was not so devoid of feeling but that his ignominious position at the side of Titus caused him some compunction. Not so, however, with the Jewish renegade Tiberius Alexander, the prefect of Egypt, who gloried in his shame. By renunciation of the faith of his fathers, and by abject flatteries and a plausible address mixed with considerable abilities, he

¹ Bell. iii. 4, 2.

had contrived to win favour at the court of Rome, and had risen to distinction. A bad man may be a good officer where interest does not conflict with duty, and in all the army there was no one on whom Titus had more reliance than on Tiberius Alexander. So much so that he was second in command under Titus, and no one contributed more to the downfall of Jerusalem than this artful and unprincipled timeserver.

There was in the Roman army at this time one descendant of Abraham whose character has been the subject of warm discussion. By some he has been venerated as almost inspired, and by others he has been pronounced an accomplished rogue. By his own account he had taken a leading part in the rebellion, and commanded in Galilee; but the Roman power had been too much for him, and, after a gallant defence of Jotapata, he was made prisoner, but had recently been set free, and was now in attendance upon Titus as interpreter. We allude to Joseph, son of Matthias, commonly called Josephus, an eyewitness from first to last of the siege which we are about to describe, and who has furnished a graphic account of the horrible scenes of carnage and famine that ended only with the total destruction of the city. His pen may not have the Attic elegance of Thucydides, for he wrote in a foreign tongue, and he cannot lay claim to the character of an impartial historian, for Josephian hyperbole has become almost a proverb; but, allowing for exaggeration where the honour of his own countrymen or that of his imperial patrons is concerned, we may look upon his narrative as a tolerably faithful account of the actual occurrences. For the halo of light which the Wars and Antiquities have thrown upon the Christian religion we ought to be deeply grateful.

Had these works not come down to us, what a cloud of darkness would have hung over the birth and rise of Christianity!

Titus set forward on his march from Cæsarea, the Roman capital of Palestine, about the beginning of April. He had then with him the 5th and 15th legions, and the auxiliary cohorts, and most of the allies. The 10th legion had been quartered during the winter at Jericho, in the plain of the Jordan, and the 5th at Emmaus, or Nicopolis, now Amwâs, half-way between Jerusalem and Jaffa, and these two legions were to join him before Jerusalem on a day fixed. The order in which the army of Titus marched was this: first came the allies; then Titus and his body-guard; after him the cavalry; then the engines of war for the siege; the cohorts of auxiliaries; the legions or troops of the line, six abreast, with the eagle at the head; and lastly the baggage and the rear-guard.¹

Titus directed his march through Samaria, and arrived about 10th April at Gophna, where he encamped. The next day he advanced to Gibeah of Saul, somewhat less than four miles from Jerusalem.² Gibeah of Saul was so named from its having been the birthplace and residence of the first King of Israel. It lay on the east side of the great north road, and was seated on a knoll or eminence, now covered with ruins, and called Tuleil el Fûl.³

At Gibeah Titus halted his army, and, at the head of his body-guard of 600, set forward himself to reconnoitre. As he had no fear of encountering an enemy, he wore only his ordinary foraging cap, and

¹ Bell. v. 2, 1.

² Bell. v. 2, 1.

³ Rob. i. 579.

was without any corselet. At the end of three miles he reached the crown of the hill called Scopus, or Belle-Vue, and here, all at once, Jerusalem and its environs lay unrolled, as on a map, before him. They were just one mile distant, but so clear and bright was the day that the doomed city seemed to lie at his feet, and to be already within his grasp. Jerusalem, as he gazed upon it, had a simplicity and compactness about it that indicated a city 'at unity with itself.' On the left or east it was bounded by the deep dark valley of Jehoshaphat, and therefore called Kedron, or the Gloomy; on the right or west and on the south it was girt in by the elbowing valley of Hinnom. On the north only was no ravine, for there, without the city, was a broad expanse, a *champ de Mars*, about half a mile square, encompassed on the north and east by the valley of Jehoshaphat, which here first runs from west to east, and then, turning southward, deepens as it descends towards the city. On the east side of Jerusalem, about half-way down, rose majestically to the skies, and glittered in the sun, the white terraces of the Temple, rising one above another, and crowned at the top with the Holy of Holies, the habitation of Jehovah. On the opposite or west side, about half-way down, frowned the formidable towers of the castle of David, the palace of Herod; and nearer to him, at the north-west corner of the city, was the Psephinus or Rubble Tower, the tallest and stateliest, though not the most finished, of all the bulwarks, the more conspicuous from its position on the highest and most commanding eminence. Titus dwelt upon the scene for a few minutes in silence, and perhaps cherished a hope, in the cause of humanity, that all this magnificence might become his without the destruction of the

inhabitants ; that he might take so goodly a hive without killing the bees : but the wrath of heaven was not to be thus appeased.

He now descended the hill of Scopus, and crossed the shallow valley of Jehoshaphat, running there from west and east, and ascended the open plateau at the north of the city. As he passed along the beaten road, he could not but admire the beautiful villas of the wealthy citizens that lined the sides, the orchards of olive, and gardens teeming with the fresh blossoms of spring. All was so calm and peaceful, that apparently he might continue his course up to the very Damascus Gate, flanked as it was by strong towers. Prudence, however, whispered that he was in presence of the enemy, and he turned off by a road to the right, which led in the direction of the Rubble Tower, at the north-west corner of the city. Titus and a few troopers had already left the main road, and the rest were following him, when suddenly a dark and dense column of men, at a rapid step, was seen pouring along the road, and before his guard could recover from their surprise, the thunderbolt was launched against them, and the body-guard was broken in two. Titus and his immediate comrades were intercepted in the by-lane, and the cavaliers that were still on the road, thinking that Titus was doing the same, wheeled about and fled. Titus was alive to the danger, and prepared for the worst. To ride across country to the camp was impossible, from the walls and gardens that like a network covered the whole space. To press on towards Psephinus might be to fall into a snare, and be carried he knew not whither. In a moment his mind was made up, and drawing his sword, and driving his spurs into his steed, he shouted to those about him,

‘Comrades, follow me!’ and dashed at once into the midst of the enemy. Javelins flew and swords gleamed. One trooper at his side rolled from his horse ; another was dismounted and a prisoner ; but Titus and the rest (thanks to the mettle of their horses and their trusty blades) forced their way unscathed through the throng, and rejoined the body-guard, now in dismay from discovering that Titus was not amongst them. The fact was, that the signal-men from the top of the Women’s Towers, which flanked the Damascus Gate, had descried the approach of the little band in the distance, and a sally was ordered ; and, from a bend in the road before the gates, the column had not been observed until it had pounced upon its prey.¹ This little incident gave Titus a wholesome taste of the desperate courage of the enemy, and served him as a lesson for all the remainder of the war. Had he been cut off on this, the threshold of the campaign, it is hard to say what might not have been the consequences. No one possessed the same authority as Titus over the legions, auxiliaries, and allies ; and had jealousies and factions sprung up in the camp as in the city, Jerusalem might have escaped, as a bird from the snare of the fowler.

In the course of the night the 5th legion joined from Amwâs, having made a long and fatiguing march by the route which falls into the great north road at Gibeah of Saul.

The next day Titus moved his army forward from Gibeah of Saul to Scopus or Belle-Vue, one mile from the northern wall of the city. The 12th and 15th legions were thrown forward and encamped together on the knoll half-way down Scopus ; and the 5th legion,

¹ Bell. v. 2, 2.

which had been marching the greater part of the previous night, were encamped three furlongs to the rear, that, in case of attack, the weary and worn regiment might not bear the brunt of the onset.¹

Just as the troops were taking the measurements for their camp, the 10th legion also joined from Jericho, and was ordered to camp on Mount Olivet, to the east of the city, and at the distance of three quarters of a mile from it.²

Before proceeding further, we must glance at the state of matters *within* the walls of Jerusalem. The city at this time was in the hands of three despots, who, while they were all hostile to the Romans, were all waging an internecine feud with each other.

First and foremost stood Simon Bar-Gioras, a native of Gerasa.³ Josephus has portrayed him as a bloodthirsty tyrant ; but the brush of Josephus could blacken at one end while it could varnish at the other, and Simon had at least some redeeming qualities : a man to be feared rather than loved, and yet capable of warm affections ; and woe to him who offered any affront to the wife of his bosom, who partook his counsels and shared his dangers. He could shed blood, even that of his dearest friends, but it was only when stern necessity required it at his hands : of powerful frame, and inured to arms, he had won the confidence, if not the affections, of the soldiery, and in the hour of danger every eye was turned towards Simon. He aspired to dominion, not by chicanery, which he scorned, but by the strength of his arm and the good blade that it wielded. He would have trampled on the liberties of his country, but he bore the hatred of Hannibal to the Romans, who

¹ Bell. v. 2, 3.

² Bell. v. 2, 3.

³ Bell. iv. 9, 3.

oppressed it. Had he been the sole master of Jerusalem, he might have checkmated the ponderous assault of Titus, but the city was enveloped in the poisoned tunic of faction, and at last committed suicide by lifting its own hand against itself.

Simon was absolute master of the High Town or Upper Market, the ancient Jebus; the south-west hill surrounded by the valley of Hinnom on the west and south, and by the Tyropœon valley on the north and east, and enclosed by the first or earliest wall. He also held the whole of the third wall, that of Agrippa; which, commencing from Hippicus, the tower at the north-west corner of the High Town, ran northward to Psephinus or the Rubble Tower, and then deflected eastward to the valley of Jehoshaphat, and then turned southward to the Temple Platform. This gave him the command of Cenopolis or the New Town, both the Upper on the western and the Lower on the eastern hill. But within the third wall and at some distance from it was the second wall, which beginning from the Gate Gennath in the north wall of the High Town, bent round to the NE. corner of the Temple Platform; and the quarter enclosed within this wall, the inner Low Town or inner Acra, was divided between Simon and John of Gischala. Simon also occupied the greater part of the wall which commencing from the SE. corner of the High Town ran along the steep of Ophel, overlooking the valley of Jehoshaphat, to the south wall of the Temple Platform; and by this means he was dominant over the inferior part of the Outer Low Town, or Outer Acra on Ophel, and in particular had in his power the fountain of Siloam at the southern foot of Ophel, a prize of high importance to a city seated on the plateau of a thirsty mountain.

Simon was at the head of 10,000 native Jews and 5,000 Idumeans, all well equipped from the arms which had been stored up by Herod, or had been wrested from the 12th legion of the Romans at the outbreak of the war. His head-quarters were in the Palace of Herod, now the castle of David, at the NW. corner of the High Town; and he resided in the main tower of the citadel called Phasaelus, from the summit of which he commanded a view, not only of the city, but of all the adjacent country.¹

The next in importance to Simon was John of Gischala, one of those rank weeds that are occasionally brought to the surface from the lowest depths of humanity by the storms of civil strife: a man intent upon his own selfish ends, and striving to gain them by flatteries and deceit; ever ready to shed the blood of those who stood in his way; ambitious of leadership, but still more eager in the pursuit of pelf. A bandit in his earlier days, he had learned to endure hardship and even to look death in the face without flinching. Less stalwart than Simon, he had greater activity, and had a ready supply of artifices that made him a match for any opponent. John, by these arts, had constituted himself the head of the extreme faction called the Zealots, and was now master of the Temple Platform, the middle Low Town, or middle Acra, and some parts of the city immediately adjacent, both on Ophel to the south and in the inner Low Town on the west. No less than 6,000 men drew the sword at his bidding. His orders had been formerly issued from

¹ Phasaelus still remains, and I have looked from it on the same hills that Simon did; but alas! the splendours of the city have sunk into the earth and lie entombed many fathoms below Jerusalem that is.

the Palace of Grapte, in the outer Low Town on Ophel,¹ but he had since been driven from it into the Temple Platform. Open and deadly war had been long waged between him and Simon, and the intermediate parts of the city that lay as neutral ground upon the confines of their respective territories had, from their repeated sallies and raids upon each other, become a smoking ruin and a desolation. The stores of provisions which had been carefully collected for years against the siege, were ruthlessly burnt amid these reprisals ; and Josephus hesitates not to say that the capture of the city was brought about at last, not by the force of arms but by the dreadful famine caused by this insane destruction of the sinews of war. •

The hydra of faction had yet a third head, Eleazar, son of Simon,² a man of sacerdotal lineage, but without any of the principles or feelings which should have animated one so well descended. Goaded by ambition, he had taken from the first a leading part in the rebellion, and had led the Zealots : outwitted by John, he had seen that artful plotter exalted over his head, and regarded as the leader of the Zealots themselves ; and stung by envy, and disgusted with John's duplicity, he had formed a cabal, and collecting about himself 2,000 attached followers had seized on the Inner Temple. John tried in vain to bring back the schismatic by fair words, and then commenced open war, but with no better success. The Inner Temple was a quadrangular terrace that rose out of the middle of the Outer Temple, the court of the Gentiles. It was ascended by flights of steps, and was surrounded besides by a high wall with a cloister or colonnade, from the roof of which the

¹ Bell. iv. 9, 11.

² Bell. v. 1, 2.

soldiery had free play. Thus the inferiority of Eleazar in numbers was compensated by the superiority of his position. Incessant conflicts had been waged, and at the arrival of Titus were still going on between John and Eleazar, and the altar above and the court of the Gentiles below had been defiled by the blood of human victims. Despairing of taking the Inner Temple by assault, John had sacrilegiously availed himself of the timber collected for the repairs of the Temple, and begun to build towers which would reach to the summit of the Inner Temple wall ; but at this juncture the Roman legions appeared on Scopus and disconcerted all his schemes.

As for the people, the quiet dwellers in Jerusalem, they adhered to no party, and were the prey of all — sheep that were first shorn, and then brought to the knife. Their houses were forcibly entered ; their goods plundered ; tortured to confess treasures which they did not possess, and put to death or spared just as the wind blew. The multitude said to have perished by these atrocities, and from the famine which soon followed, is too vast to be credited.

Besides the ordinary population of Jerusalem, there was at this time a countless throng of pilgrims waiting for the Passover. This was to take place on the 13th of April, but it was the custom of the Jews to arrive a week before to make preparation. Josephus would have us believe that 2,500,000,¹ or even occasionally 3,000,000,² were congregated at the capital during the great festivals ; but, allowing a large margin for exaggeration, and remembering that in disturbed times the attendance would be comparatively small,

¹ Bell. vi. 9, 3.

² Bell. ii. 14, 3.

we may still suppose that the population at this season would be double of its usual amount. The floors of the houses within the walls were crowded, and without in the valleys and on the sides of the hills the ground was dotted with tents, while numbers of the poorer sort slept in the open air under their gaberdines or blankets.

The festivals were the fairs of the nation—the great gatherings for the transaction of business and the interchange of good offices. But now one universal gloom overspread the whole community. Hitherto, from intestine troubles, the Romans had neglected Jerusalem, but all men felt that the day of reckoning was at hand. In this state of suspense and excitement every little incident out of the ordinary course had its significance and increased their fears. A strange light at three o'clock in the morning had shone about the altar and temple, and this had been interpreted as a warning of conflagration. At another time, at midnight, the Corinthian or Beautiful Gate of the Temple, which had been closed at sunset by the united strength of twenty men, had opened of its own accord, as if to let in the enemy. Voices had been heard from the Holy of Holies saying, 'Let us depart hence.' War chariots and armies in battle array had been observed in the clouds.¹ And for the last year there had been hanging, and still hung, in the skies over Jerusalem, a comet which assumed the appearance of a flaming sword. Even so far back as before the outbreak of the rebellion, a poor half-crazed person — Jesus, the son of Ananus — had perambulated the city, uttering one incessant and

¹ In certain states of the air, objects upon the earth are reflected on the sky; and on this occasion the Jews may have seen the Roman forces advancing upon Jerusalem reflected in the clouds.

doleful cry, 'A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds of heaven, a voice against Jerusalem and the Sanctuary, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, a voice against all the people.' This had continued until it was deemed a nuisance, and he was taken before the magistrates and scourged, but still the same wail was heard from morning to night in the streets. He was then carried before the Procurator, and his flesh almost torn from his body by the lash, but he only exclaimed at each stroke, 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem!' Discharged by the Procurator as a maniac, he then again went about the city as before, with the wonted lament, 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem!' He noticed no one, and spoke to no one. He had no curses for those that beat him, and no blessings for those that fed him. Instead of passing for a person without his wits, he was now thought to be the mouth-piece of the Deity, and the populace, wherever he appeared, was filled with terror.¹

Men's minds were in this morbid frame when the panic cry arose that the Roman eagles were on Scopus. Then was the striking of tents, and the rush of fugitives seeking for safety in flight; groups of men, women, and children were seen hurrying here and there, and stumbling against each other. The wiser and more long-sighted turned their backs on the city, and left it to its fate; in particular, it is said that the Christian Jews, warned by the prophetic words of their divine master, 'fled to the mountains' (for the ordinary passes were guarded), and retired to Pella. But the great mass of the people

¹ Bell. vi. 5, 3. He continued this unceasing wail until, in the course of the siege, he was heard to say, 'Woe, woe, also, to myself!' when he was struck down by a shot from one of the enemy's engines.

precipitated themselves within the walls, and were thus caught in a snare from which they afterwards attempted in vain to extricate themselves.

Now that the enemy was at the gate, it was time to think of defence, and the three chiefs, Simon, John, and Eleazar, met in conclave, or at least communicated with each other through envoys, and exchanged pledges that until the common enemy were disposed of all intestine feuds should be sunk in oblivion; in other words, that while each maintained his position, he should lend a hand to repel the common foe.

No sooner had the compact been made than it was called into action. We left the Roman Legions busily occupied in pitching their camps, the 5th, 12th, and 15th Legions on Scopus, and the 10th on Olivet. Why this one legion should have been thus separated from the rest it is difficult to divine; perhaps for the convenience of the commissariat, or perhaps for keeping a more watchful eye upon the proceedings in the city, as the combined view from Scopus on one side, and from Olivet on the other, completely overlooked Jerusalem in all its length and breadth.

The sight, however, of one legion posted by itself, and employed upon entrenchments, invited an attack, and a sally was resolved upon. A watchman was posted on the eastern wall to signal by the waving of a mantle when to charge and when to retire, and, this matter arranged, the troops of John and Eleazar sallied out of the Golden Gate in the middle of the Temple Platform, and the troops of Simon out of St. Stephen's Gate, the only portal on the east side of the new city, and contiguous on the north to the Temple Platform. The united forces rushed down the valley to the Kedron, and rapidly ascended the opposite hill, and before the

10th Legion could form in rank, the Jews were upon them. A fierce conflict ensued, but eventually the legionaries were forced out of their half-formed entrenchments, and retreated over the hill. Immediate intelligence had been carried to Titus, and he at once started off with a chosen body to the relief of the 10th Legion, and arrived just in time to save it from destruction. The Jews were driven down the hill, but on recrossing the Kedron the vantage ground was again on their side, and they re-formed and presented a bold front. Neither party chose to renew the combat, and Titus, after waiting some time, ordered the 10th Legion to reascend the hill and proceed with the encampment. No sooner had they commenced their retrograde march than the watchman on the walls, taking it for a flight, waved violently his mantle—the signal for a charge—when the Jews dashed forward with such fury that they broke the Roman line and drove them up the hill in confusion. Titus implored and threatened, and even drew his sword upon the fugitives, in the vain attempt to check the panic, but all in vain. Meanwhile the 10th Legion, on their way upwards, had heard the shouts, and, seeing the disorder, faced about, and charging down hill, restored the fight. The Jews resisted manfully, but the acclivity was steep, and they were hurled into the ravine, and sought safety within the walls of the city.¹

The treaty of amity between the three despots now recoiled upon the head of one of the parties to it. The morning of 13th April dawned, and at noon the sacrifices for the Passover were to be killed. Eleazar was in possession of the Inner Temple and the altar, and the worshippers who had come to Jerusalem applied

¹ Bell. v. 2, 4.

for admission, and Eleazar, who was himself of the tribe of Levi, acceded to the request. But the insidious John of Gischala, who had solemnly sworn to drop all hostilities within the walls during the siege, regarded the oath as a convenient instrument of fraud, and seeing Eleazar lulled into security, determined on a step for the advancement of his own interests. He selected certain of his followers whose features were not familiar to Eleazar, and attired them in the garb of pilgrims, but at the same time armed them with swords and daggers, hidden under their gabardines. The unsuspecting Eleazar allowed them to pass with the rest, and no sooner were they in the Inner Temple than they made an onset with their weapons, and opened the gates to their comrades. An indiscriminate slaughter of Eleazar's partisans, and even of the innocent worshippers, followed. The end however was attained, for John, by this perjury and treachery, under the cloak of religion, regained possession of the Inner Temple, and the faction of Eleazar ceased. Simon and John remained alone upon the stage to fight, first with the Romans, and then, if they survived, with each other. It is singular that the life of Eleazar himself was spared. There must have been strong motives for lenity, or John could not have refrained from the gratification of spilling his blood. Perhaps John could not dispense with the services of Eleazar's surviving partisans, and these could only be purchased at the price of their leader's safety.¹

The only assailable parts of the city were the northern and so much of the western wall as extended from the Jaffa Gate to Psephinus or the Rubble Tower, at the

¹ Bell. v. 3, 1.

north-west corner. On all the other sides were the tremendous precipices of the valleys—viz., the valley of Hinnom on the west and south, and the valley of Jehoshaphat on the east. The weak line from the Jaffa Gate to the Rubble Tower, and thence eastward to the valley of Jehoshaphat, was protected by the wall begun by Agrippa ten years after the Crucifixion, and completed by the Jews in a hasty manner after the outbreak of the war in A.D. 66. This wall, now commonly called the Third Wall, was anciently known as the Great Wall, from its superior breadth and the dimensions of the towers. Had Agrippa perfected the wall as he commenced it, the city would have been impregnable, but the jealousy of the Roman Emperor Claudius interdicted the work.

Titus was satisfied, from the vigorous sallies already made by the Jews, that he had no child's play before him, but must make his approaches against the city upon the most approved plan. As the assault, therefore, must be either against the north wall, or that portion of the west wall which lay between the Jaffa Gate and the Rubble Tower, he thought it indispensable for his safety, in the first place, to clear the ground opposite these parts, so as to afford a ready transit for his troops from one quarter to another. Posting, therefore, select bands to counteract any sortie from the gates, he employed the rest of his army in levelling the suburbs. Houses were thrown down, walls demolished, fruit-trees and shrubs felled and removed, projecting rocks cut away, and hollows filled up.

Such a work of devastation, the conversion of ornamental scenery into a desolate battle-field, strongly stirred the passions of the besieged. How could they look upon such havoc? Why did not the people rise

en masse against the despots that oppressed them, and open the gates to the Romans, who at least could not exercise greater barbarity than was inflicted by their present masters?

It seemed at one time as if some such *émeute* within the city had broken out, for as the troops of Titus were clearing the ground on the north, the walls were seen lined with citizens who extended their arms to the Romans, and sued for peace, and implored them to take possession of the city. The war-party apparently had been overpowered, for at the same time a crowd was ejected from the Damascus Gate, and were in a state of the wildest despair, sometimes advancing to the Romans, and then, as if afraid of their sworn enemies, retreating again toward the city, but saluted on their approach with a shower of missiles from the walls. Titus had suspicions of an ambush, and commanded the soldiers to stand fast, but the battalion that was nearest the gate was under an irresistible impulse, and rushed up to the open portal to take possession, when the people, who had pretended to be outcasts, suddenly drew their concealed swords and attacked the Romans in the rear, while others sallying from the gate assailed them in front, and at the same time javelins, arrows, and stones were poured upon them from the two flanking towers of the gate, called the Women's Towers. The Romans, from very shame, fought with desperation, but numbers were slain, and the rest were chased all the way along the north road as far as the tombs of Helen, now the tombs of the kings; and the Jews on their return brandished their shields, and danced and skipped and made grimaces in mockery of the Romans for the way in which they had been befooled. Josephus tells us that the tombs of Helen

were three furlongs from the wall,¹ but according to recent admeasurement the interval is just four furlongs, or half a mile, and it seems, therefore, to have been lucky that the Jews were not intercepted in their retreat; but probably there was no other battalion under arms nearer than at the Jaffa Gate, and the mass of the army were engaged with the pickaxe and shovel. We need not suppose, however, that the Jews pursued the enemy all the way to the tombs of Helen, but only that the Romans did not stop their precipitate flight until they had reached that monument.²

The Roman army was occupied upon the clearance of the ground for four days,³ and on the completion of the work Titus took measures for moving his camp nearer to the city. About two furlongs to the north of the Rubble Tower was the highest point of the plateau to the north, and here the 12th and 15th Legions, under Titus, formed their united camp. At the Jaffa Gate, the valley of Jehoshaphat coming up from the south turned in a north-west direction, and at the head of it was the Serpent or Dragon Pool, now the Mamilla, and a little to the east of the pool, where still is a cemetery, was the tomb of Herod Agrippa, the father of Agrippa who was now with the Roman army. A little to the south, and opposite the Jaffa Gate, and at the distance from it of two furlongs, was a knoll, and here the 5th Legion, under Sextus Cerealis, formed their encampment.⁴

When the ditches and walls of the two camps had been completed, the next step was to transport thither the engines of war and baggage, and from the excessive precautions taken by Titus, it is plain that he entertained a very wholesome respect for his resolute

¹ Ant. xx. 4, 3.

² Bell. v. 3, 3.

³ Bell. v. 3, 5.

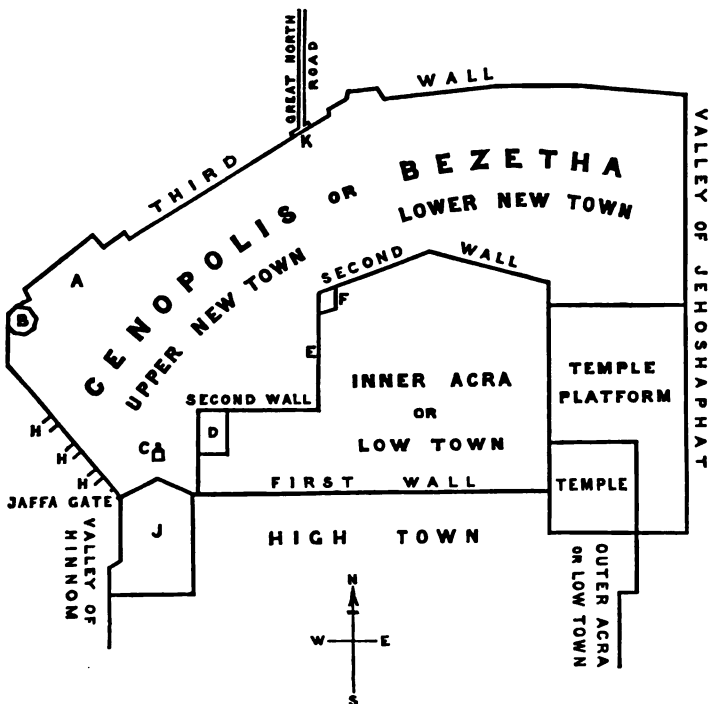
⁴ Ibid.

adversary. A cordon was drawn round the north and west sides of the city, consisting of men under arms stationed no less than seven deep. In front were the legionaries three deep, then a rank of archers, and behind them the cavalry also ranged three deep. The Jews could not venture a sally against such a living wall, and the engines and baggage were safely conveyed along the rear from Scopus to the two newly-constructed camps. The 10th Legion was not moved, but retained its position on Mount Olivet.

Now that the legions were located in permanent quarters, Titus had to consider where he should deliver the assault. He therefore mounted his charger, and, attended by a guard, and also by Nicanor and Josephus, who were well acquainted with the city and its inhabitants, rode round the wall. In the course of the reconnaissance, Titus, out of compassion, turned to Nicanor and said, 'Go near and offer them terms.' Nicanor and Josephus, with a flag of truce, approached the wall, when an arrow flew and struck Nicanor on the left shoulder. A spirit like this left no alternative but to prosecute the siege.

The result of the survey was this. The High Town, or south-western quarter of the city, could not be taken and held without possession of the Palace of Herod, now the Castle of David, the fortress at the north-west corner of the High Town; and the Low Town, or Acra, could not be taken and held without possession of the Temple Platform, the fortress of the Low Town; but the Palace of Herod was impregnable from without, by reason of the deep valley of Hinnom on the west, and the Temple Platform was impregnable from without, by reason of the still deeper valley of Jehoshaphat on the east. But if Titus could only take the outer or third wall, which ran from the Jaffa Gate northward, and

so round to the Temple Platform, he would then be able to approach the Palace of Herod from the north, and the Temple Platform also from the north.¹ The third wall and the second wall may be regarded as two concentric segments of circles, resting on the Palace of



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|--|--|
| A. The camp of the Assyrians. | E. The present Bazaars. |
| B. The tower Psephinus. | F. The middle tower of the second wall. |
| C. The monument of the High Priest John. | H. H. H. The three mounds erected against the outer or third wall. |
| D. The Pool of Hezekiah. | |

Herod on the west, and on the Temple Platform on the east. The above diagram will show the different localities, with their relative positions.

Having decided on attempting, in the first instance the capture of the outer or third wall, as preliminary

¹ Bell. v. 6, 2.

THE ASSAULT ON THE CITY. ~~THE~~ THE PALACE OF
 HEROD IN THE FIRST TOWER AND THE TEMPLE PLATFORM OF
 THE SECOND TOWER. THIS WAS NOW A CHASM BETWEEN THE
 NORTHERN SIDE OF THE THIRD WALL AND THAT PART OF THE
 WESTERN SIDE WHICH LAY BETWEEN THE JAFFA GATE AND
 REMAINS OF THE SECOND TOWER AT THE NORTH-WEST
 CORNER. IN PREVIOUS AGES THE ASSAULTS OF THE ENEMY HAD
 USUALLY BEEN DIRECTED AGAINST THE NORTH AND ON THIS
 SIDE THEREFORE THE FORTIFICATIONS WERE STRONGEST. NOT
 ONLY WAS THE WALL EXCEEDINGLY MASSIVE, BUT AT THE FOOT
 OF IT WAS A DEEP AND WIDE FOSSE, WHERE THE WALL ITSELF
 DID NOT STAND UPON A ROCK OF IMACCESSIBLE HEIGHT. ON
 THE WEST THE WALL WAS NOT OF EQUAL PROPORTIONS, NOR WAS
 THE FOSSE SO DEEP OR BROAD, AND THE REASON PERHAPS WAS
 THAT THE VALLEY OF JEHOSEPHAT MIGHT BE THOUGHT TO OFFER
 SOME PROTECTION. HOWEVER, THE VALLEY COMING UP FROM
 THE SOUTH TURNS OFF AT THE JAFFA GATE IN A NORTH-WEST
 DIRECTION, AND LEAVES A TRIANGULAR LEVEL SPACE BETWEEN
 THE VALLEY AND THE WESTERN WALL (THE JAFFA GATE FORMING
 THE APEX), AND THIS INTERMEDIATE AREA WAS OF SUFFICIENT
 WIDTH FOR THE OPERATIONS OF A BESIEGING ARMY. THE
 VALLEY ITSELF, ALSO, WAS SO SHALLOW HERE AS TO OFFER NO
 IMPEDIMENT TO THE TRANSIT OF TROOPS. TITUS THEREFORE
 DETERMINED ON MAKING THE ASSAULT ON THE WESTERN SIDE
 OF THE CITY, OVER AGAINST THE MONUMENT OF JOHN THE
 HIGH PRIEST, WHICH STOOD JUST WITHIN THE THIRD WALL, A
 LITTLE TO THE WEST OF THE POOL OF HEZEKIAH, THEN CALLED
 THE ALMOND POOL.¹

The wall was too high for an escalade, and was
 therefore to be breached. The artillery for this purpose
 was the battering-ram, an immense mast with an iron
 headpiece in the form of a ram's head, whence its

¹ Bell. v 6, 2.

name, and slung by ropes or chains from upright timbers uniting at a point over the engine. It was then projected with all the force that could be given to it by a gang of soldiers against the wall, and such was the shock that no masonry could long withstand its repeated blows. But before the ram could be brought into play it was necessary to fill up the fosse, and as the upper part of the wall was the weakest, it was usual to mount the ram upon a bank or platform, so as to strike the wall at some height from the ground. The construction of the bank, and the playing of the ram was a work of great difficulty and danger, for, of course, those who manned the walls were all the time pouring down volleys of javelins, arrows, and stones. Those who wrought at the bank or the ram were therefore to be put under cover, and for this purpose hurdles, armed with wet skins as a prevention against fire, were stretched overhead. But again, unless the wall were cleared of those who manned it, sandbags would be let down to break the stroke of the ram, or a fragment of rock would be sent down big enough to break off the ram's head. To counteract these obstructions a wooden tower was commonly employed by the besiegers. It was of considerable height, say 75 feet,¹ and of corresponding breadth. It was constructed at a distance from the wall, or at least out of reach of shot, and was then pushed upon wheels up or along the bank until it neared the wall. As the enemy would send against it arrows and javelins carrying combustible materials for setting it on fire, the sides, except that at the rear, which could not be reached by the enemy, were protected by iron plates. The tower consisted

¹ Bell. v. 7, 1.

of several tiers or stories, well supplied with scorpions, catapults, and ballists, which poured showers of missiles through the open windows, or apertures, against the enemy on the wall.

On 22nd April, Titus began the work by distributing his army into three divisions, and ordering each to erect a bank, mount a ram, and construct a tower.¹ A vast quantity of timber was required, not only for the battering-rams and towers, but also for the banks, which were composed in great measure of wood-work. Every tree, therefore, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem was now felled;² and Josephus breathes a sigh as he relates how the environs of Jerusalem, which before resembled a paradise, were thus utterly denuded and became a desolation.³

Now while with toil unwearied rose the mound,
The sounding axe invades the groves around;
Light earth and shrubs the middle banks supplied,
But firmer beams must fortify the side;
Lest when the towers advance their ponderous height,
The mouldering mass should yield beneath their weight.

Rowe's *Pharsalia*.

As the three banks proceeded, those who wrought at them were not only protected by hurdles overhead, but on each side were stationed javelin-men and archers, in front of whom were arranged scorpions, catapults, and ballists. Some of the ballists were of extraordinary power, for those of the 10th Legion could throw a stone of 1 cwt. the distance of two furlongs,⁴ and Josephus mentions that at Jotapata a stone from one of the ballists carried off a man's head and projected it three furlongs.⁵

¹ Bell. v. 6, 2; v. 7, 1.

² Bell. vi. 1, 1.

³ Bell. iii. 7, 23.

⁴ Bell. v. 6, 2.

⁵ Bell. v. 6, 3.

The soldiers of Simon, meanwhile, on the wall were not idle. They possessed a few engines of war, partly taken from the stores of the Romans in Antonia at the outbreak of the rebellion, and partly captured from the 12th Legion when chased from Jerusalem to Bethhoron, but the Jews had no experience in the use or management of the engines, and they were of little use; but the archers and slingers were numerous and skilful, and gave great annoyance to the besiegers.

The way in which the Jews defended themselves from the Roman ballists is singular. A watchman with a quick eye could see the white stone as it flew in the air, and immediately cried out 'The chiel's coming,' when the group separated and threw themselves on the ground. The Romans soon discovered this manœuvre, and painted the stone black, when, being lost to the sight, it did much more execution.¹

The banks were now approaching the wall, and the workmen, who did not dare show themselves beyond the covering hurdles, threw out a plumb-line, and measured the distance, and found that the rams could reach the bulwark.² Upon this, the battering-rams were advanced, and slung upon the three banks, and were then driven with tremendous force and with the noise of thunder against the wall. The whole city was scared at the reverberation of the echoes from the three batteries, and ran about wild with terror. Even Simon and John were brought to their senses for the moment, and combined their troops against the common enemy. Flaming brands were thrown in showers from the walls upon the besiegers below, while others made

¹ Bell. v. 6, 3.

² Bell. v. 6, 4.

sallies, and attempted to fire or break in pieces the covering hurdles. But wherever the Romans were hotly pressed, Titus hurried up with cavalry and archers, and drove the Jews back. At the end of the first day's assault, the only injury done to the wall was, that a corner of one of the towers had been broken off by the ram of the 15th Legion.¹

On the west side of the Palace of Herod, the citadel at the north-west corner of the High Tower, was a secret postern, which had not been observed by the Romans. Simon, whose head-quarters were in Phasaclus, the principal tower in the citadel, could, from the summit of it, watch every movement of the enemy, and seizing a favourable moment, when they were off their guard, he poured out his troops through the secret gate, and so took the legions by surprise that they gave way, and the Jews followed furiously in the direction of the works, in the hope of firing them. An obstacle often arises when least expected, and just as the Jews had reached the goal, the Alexandrian auxiliaries made a stand. They were not comparable, in general opinion, to the legions; but on this occasion the courage of the legions seemed to have migrated into the swarthy troops of the Nile. This saved the works, for while the conflict was raging, Titus, who was ever on the alert against accidents, galloped up with his chosen cavalry, and drove the Jews back into the city. The historian adds that Titus, on this occasion, slew no less than twelve men with his own hand! if so, he displayed rather the valour of the common soldier than the caution of the commander; but if Josephus really believed this, we can only say *Credat Judæus*. One of the gallant Jews

¹ Bell. v. 6, 4.

was taken prisoner, and Titus, most cruelly and meanly, caused him to be crucified under the walls, that his agonies on the cross might break the courage of his comrades.¹

Hitherto the wooden towers built by the Romans had not been brought to bear, but they were now completed, and were moved forward upon the banks; but the first result was somewhat inauspicious. At midnight a tremendous crash was heard,—the alarm was sounded, and the whole army was in a panic, the men running here and there, and challenging each other in the dark for the watchword. Titus started from his couch, and was soon on the spot. The towers, from their great height and size, were of enormous weight, and the earth, or wood-work, of one of the banks, had sunk or given way, and the tower, with all its armament of engines, had fallen to the ground.²

No sooner were the two remaining towers brought against the wall, than the Jews were fairly overmatched. It was the triumph of engineering skill over sheer courage. The portholes and embrasures of the towers sent out such a volley of arrows, javelins, and stones, that no one could stand upon the wall and live. The battering-rams had now full play, and their force quite amazed the Jews, who had never before witnessed the effects of military engines of the highest class. One ram, in particular, excited their admiration, and was nicknamed by themselves *Nicon*, or *Conqueror*; and it was *Nicon* at last that brought down the wall against which it butted. A breach being effected, the forlorn hope dashed in, and the Jews fled in terror behind the second wall.³ It must be confessed that at

¹ Bell. v. 6, 4 and 5.

² Bell. v. 7, 1.

³ Bell. v. 7, 2.

this, the last pinch, the Jews did not display their wonted energy. At Jotopata, for instance, when the Romans stormed, the Jews poured boiling oil over the advancing enemy, which, searching the body through the crevices of their armour, made them writhe with agony. And again, when the Romans laid down the scaling planks for the soldiers to cross, the Jews had dashed down a flood of melted grease, so that the combatants lost their footing, and rolled about in all directions. But *now* the besieged fled at once behind the next wall, and Josephus attributes this want of spirit partly to the incessant fatigues which they had already undergone; partly to the vacillation arising from the divided counsels of the factions; but more particularly to a persuasion on the part of Simon's partisans, that the third wall was of the less consequence, as two walls would still be interposed between them and the enemy—that is, the High Tower was protected by its own wall, the first, and beyond that, by the second wall, except at Herod's Palace where the fortifications were deemed impregnable.¹ No doubt the design of Titus had been, after capturing the third wall, to assault the Palace of Herod at once between the third and second walls; but the Jews believed, and they were right, that the strong towers, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, which crowned the northern brow of the cliff on which the palace stood, would bid defiance to any force that Titus could bring against them.

The fall of the outer or third wall was on 7 Artemisius, or 6th May, the 15th day from the actual commencement of the works, and about a month from Titus' first arrival.² Thus ended the first act of this bloody tragedy.

¹ Bell. v. 7, 2.

² Ibid.

CHAPTER II.

'After threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined.'—Daniel ix. 26.

THE quarter of which Titus thus became master was, in the Jews' language, Bezetha; or in Greek, Cenopolis; and in plain English, the New Town. The shape of it (see Sketch, p. 25) may be compared to a triumphal arch resting on two bases, viz., at the west on the Palace of Herod, and at the east on the Temple Platform. The second wall, which formed the concavity of the arch, commenced on the west, from the eastern end of the Palace of Herod, or rather from the Gate Gennath near it, in the northern wall of the High Town, and swept round in an irregular curvilinear form to the western end of the Temple Platform. Cenopolis was intersected by the Asmonean valley, which descended southwards from the Damascus Gate, and thus divided it into Upper Cenopolis on the west, and Lower Cenopolis on the east. This new suburb had first spread itself on the eastern hill by the population gradually extending itself to the north of the Temple. The western hill was never much inhabited, and the reason seems to have been that in that part there was a cemetery, and the Jews had a religious horror of a graveyard. The tomb of John the High Priest, near the Pool of Hezekiah, was a leading

feature in the localities of the city throughout the siege ; and a little to the north of it was the tomb of our Lord, now the Holy Sepulchre, and in the same vicinity are still to be seen two other tombs, hewn in the rock in the old Jewish fashion. The thinness of the population was the cause, according to Josephus, why this quarter had not been comprised within the city when the second wall was built.¹ Agrippa, ten years after the Crucifixion, had attempted to encompass it by the third wall ; but an interdict from Rome put a stop to the work, and Cenopolis was not brought within the city until the completion of the third wall by the Jews, at the outbreak of the insurrection in A.D. 66. In the Upper Cenopolis on the western hill was the area, called the Camp of the Assyrians, so named from its having been the site of the Assyrian encampment in the time of Sennacherib. The spot was at the north-west corner of Cenopolis, the highest ground.

Titus, that he might be nearer the scene of conflict, now moved his own camp from the plateau at the north of the city to the camp of the Assyrians, between the third and second walls. The 10th Legion still remained on Mount Olivet, and the 5th on the knoll opposite the Jaffa Gate ; and as the new camp within the city was small,² we may infer that part only of the 12th and 15th Legions were brought thither from their united camp on the north. Titus, however, had with him a strong force, and one which is described as reaching all the way from the camp of the Assyrians on the west, to the valley of Jehoshaphat on the east. The

¹ Bell. v. 6, 2.

² This appears from the circumstance that the tribunal of Titus, when he distributed the rewards, was erected, not in the camp within the city, which would not contain the members, but in the camp on the plateau on the north of the city.—*Bell.* vii. 1, 2.

reason of this extended front, no doubt, was that they might be retired to such a distance as to be inaccessible to the shot from the second wall.

Titus had supposed, that when once master of the outer or third wall, he could at once, without taking the second wall, operate against the Palace of Herod on the west, and the Temple Platform, guarded by Fort Antonia, on the east ; and he now proceeded to carry this plan into execution. The details are not given, but it is evident that the Romans won no laurels, or we should have heard more about it. The soldiers of Simon manned the north wall of the High Town between the second and third walls—that is, from the tomb of the High Priest John, at the junction of the second wall with the wall of the High Town, as far as to the Watergate in the Tower of Hippicus, at the north-west corner of the High Town ; and John, on the east, manned the north wall of the Temple Platform. The soldiers of Simon were devoted to him, and now that his stronghold, the Palace of Herod, was attacked, they fought with the utmost fury. The contest before and upon the walls raged from day to day, and even at night both sides slept under arms. John, on the other side, was equally resolute in the defence of his fastness, the Temple Platform ; and Titus was forced at last to confess that the two citadels were impregnable, unless he could first master the second wall, and so make his approaches upon more favourable ground.¹

It was therefore resolved, as the next step, to storm the second wall. The quarter enclosed by it was the Inner Low Town, or Inner Acra, and it somewhat resembled in its configuration a quadrant ; the second

¹ Bell. v. 7, 3.

wall, from the Palace of Herod on the west, to the Temple Platform on the east, forming the arc; while the two sides were the north wall of the High Tower on the south, and the western wall of the Temple Platform on the east (see Plan, p. 25). This part of Jerusalem was in strange contrast to the New Town enclosed by the third wall, for while large tracts of the New Town were scarcely inhabited, and only sprinkled with houses few and far between, the Inner Lower Town was perhaps the most populous of the whole city. It was not honoured by the presence of the aristocracy, for all the palaces were either in the High Town, or else in the Outer Low Town, on Ophel below the Temple. In the High Town were the Palace of Herod on the west, the Palace of Agrippa on the east, and the Palace of the High Priest on the south; and on Ophel were the Palaces of the royal family of Adiabene, the Palace of Queen Helena in the middle, and the Palace of Grapte to the north, and the Palace of Monobazus on the south. In the Inner Low Town, enclosed by the second wall, on the contrary, were located the artisans and merchants and shopkeepers. The streets and lanes were narrow and crooked, and were a perfect labyrinth. The ground itself was uneven, as the Asmonean valley ran down it from north-west to south-east; and the ascent from the valley was pretty steep, both on the eastern and western sides. The habitations were lofty, but mean as compared with those in the High Town or Outer Low Town. In short, the Inner Low Town was the heart of the city, the most thickly peopled, and bore all the marks of an overloaded quarter straitlaced for room, and unable to expand itself beyond the confining wall.

The point selected for the assault was the middle Tower of the north wall, where were the wool-mart and

clothes'-mart and the braziers' shops,¹ and where to this day are the bazaars. The battering-ram was soon brought into play, and a strong body of archers cleared the battlements of those that manned them. The second wall was not so strong as the outer or third wall, which had been already taken, and the ram soon caused the Tower to totter. The officer in command there under Simon was one Castor, and when the fall was evidently approaching, all, with the exception of Castor and ten others, abandoned the fortress. The scene that follows reads more like a puppet-show than a page in history. The Tower was of the ordinary character, having a vault or guardroom below, and a breastwork above with battlements. Castor and his men lay crouched behind the breastwork until the Tower began to tremble, when Castor stood up and threw out his arms towards Titus in earnest supplication, and offering to surrender unconditionally. The heart of Titus was touched with compassion, and he promised to spare Castor his life. At the same time the other ten rose up, and were seen engaged in a deadly feud, five of them crying out for pardon, and the other five shouting no surrender, and assaulting the five dastards. Their heads only were visible to the Romans above the breastwork, but swords gleamed in the air, and every now and then was the ring of a weapon upon the breastplate, and a man dropped. All this was a make-believe. They only dashed the hilts of their swords against their own corslets, and then pretended to fall dead. Castor meanwhile sent a message to Simon not to hurry himself, for he could make fools of the Romans for some time longer. At this point, an

¹ Bell. v. 8, 1.

arrow flew from a Roman bow, and struck Castor by the side of the nose. He coolly drew out the shaft, and held it up in silent reproach to Titus, who sternly rebuked the archer, and bade Josephus go up to the wall and grant their lives. Josephus, who knew his countrymen better, excused himself; but Castor at this time calling lustily for some one to come up and catch the bag of gold which he had brought with him, Æneas, a deserter, ran to the foot of the Tower, when Castor threw down, not the bag of gold, but a fragment of rock, which missed Æneas himself, but nearly killed the person standing next him. Titus now saw through the cheat, and ordered the battering-ram to be applied without mercy. Just before the Tower fell, Castor set fire to it, and escaped with his comrades through the vault, and made the Romans believe that they were miracles of patriotism, choosing to perish in the flames rather than surrender to the enemy.¹

The breach was effected on 11th May, and the Romans immediately took possession of the second wall. As the Inner Low Town was of no great extent, Titus entered by the breach with his body-guard only, and about 1,000 legionaries. The inhabitants of this quarter being exclusively the common people, who would gladly have freed themselves from the yoke of the tyrants and have surrendered to the Romans, Titus gave orders that none should be slain who did not carry arms, and that the houses should not be destroyed. He even went so far as to promise a restoration of their property to all peaceful citizens. This conduct, the result of compassion or policy, was interpreted by the tyrants as a sign of weakness, and the soldiers of Simon, threatening death to any that uttered the word sur-

¹ Bell. v. 7, 4.

render, made a desperate onset, meeting the Romans face to face in the streets, and throwing missiles upon them from the housetops, and, from an intimate knowledge of the byways and alleys, falling upon the flanks of the enemy where least expected. At the same time, also, a sally was made out of the High Town by the nearest gate; and the Romans on the second wall, finding their enemies on both sides of them, escaped from the wall and fled to their camp. Meanwhile the Jews pressed the Romans very hard within the city. Titus, never anticipating such an attack, had incautiously omitted to widen the breach, and the consequence was that the Romans were pent up in narrow lanes, and were unable to extricate themselves through the opening by which they had entered. In this strait they fought with desperation, and eventually Titus, bringing up a body of skilful archers, and posting them in commanding positions, the Jews were checked, and the Romans were enabled to retire through the breach. Thus the Jews, having lost the second wall, again recovered it; and were so elated by this temporary triumph, that they imagined themselves already victors, and asked each other whether the enemy would dare to renew the attempt. For three entire days did Simon and his followers hold the second wall, and hedge round the breach with a living rampart of bodies; and the force of the whole Roman army could not dislodge them. On the fourth day, however, the 14th May, the strength of the Jews was exhausted, and inch by inch they were forced into the High Town, and Titus now became finally and absolutely master of the second wall and the quarter enclosed by it, the Inner Low Town.¹ So ended the second act of this bloody drama.

¹ Bell. v. 8, 1 and 2.

CHAPTER III.

' There shall be famines, and pestilences, and earthquakes: ' and, ' Then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be. '— Matt. xxiv. 7, 21.

TITUS had unfortunately omitted, on the capture of the second wall, to widen the breach, and he had suffered a severe disaster in consequence ; but now that he had again retrieved his loss, he took care to prevent a recurrence of it, by throwing down the whole of the northern limb of the second wall. The western limb, or at least the southern part of it, which joined on to the first wall of the High Town, he left standing, as it would facilitate his operations in assaulting the High Town.¹

The troops had suffered much from the street-fighting of the last four days, and Titus now gave them a little rest. The periodical time for paying the army had arrived, and Titus took the opportunity of making the ceremony an imposing pageant. This he calculated would have a beneficial effect, by encouraging his own army from the consciousness of its strength, and by intimidating and disheartening the enemy, if it did not at once lead to a surrender. Both infantry and cavalry were ordered to clean and burnish their arms, and then, fully equipped and in full uniform, to present

¹ Bell. v. 8, 2.

themselves for the receipt of their pay. The tribunal was erected on the north of the city, and the various bodies marched past in succession. First came the Legions, with their plumed helmets and metal breast-plates, carrying a spear in the right hand and a buckler in the left, with a long sword girt on the left side and a dagger on the right. Then came the auxiliary Cohorts, some with the Roman armament, others with long bows and quiver of arrows, and others with their slings and pouches of leaden bullets. Last, but not the least notable, advanced the cavalry, every one lance in hand, and leading his horse gaily caparisoned. Such was the immense force collected, that for four consecutive days the living tide flowed past. So gorgeous a spectacle could not fail to attract the admiration, if not to work upon the fears of the besieged ; and Fort Antonia, and the northern side of the Temple, and the north wall of Sion, and, indeed, all the roofs of the houses, were thronged with spectators, looking with beating hearts and bated breath at the multitudes banded together for their destruction. At the same time, so calmly and orderly was the display conducted, that a stranger, looking down from Mount Olivet, might have imagined the pageant a scenic representation, and that the few feet of wall between the two hosts was the conventional barrier that divided the assembled masses of the citizens from the performers on the grand stage of the plateau on the north.¹

The imposing ceremony came to an end, but failed to produce the desired effect. There was no sign of submission ; and Titus had again to let slip the dogs of war. The Inner Low Town enclosed by the second

¹ Bell. v. 9, 1.

wall, of which he was now master, constituted only about a third part of the Low Town, otherwise called Acra. The main part of it, and that which commanded the two wings, was the Temple Platform, or Middle Acra. Without the possession of this, the Inner Low Town on the west could not be held in safety; and if the Temple Platform were captured, the Outer Low Town to the south was no longer defensible. The Temple Platform, however, was a citadel of extraordinary strength. About 1,500 feet long from north to south, and 900 feet wide from east to west, it was surrounded on all sides by a high and broad wall, and not only so, but on it stood the famous fortress Antonia, upon which Herod had lavished enormous sums to make it impregnable. The Temple itself, also, which rose below Antonia in successive terraces one above the other, was in itself a little citadel not easy to be taken. The area of the Temple Platform was thus distributed: at the south-west corner, and occupying a square of 600 feet, was the Temple itself, encircled by cloisters; from the northern cloister ran out two colonnades, about 400 feet apart, which connected the Temple with Antonia on the north. Still more to the north, and above Antonia, and at the north-west corner of the platform, had originally stood the Macedonian Acra or Castle, which had given its name not only to the Temple Platform, but to the whole of the Low Town, including the two wings, the Inner Low Town to the west, and the Outer Low Town to the south. The Acra, however, had been razed by the Asmoneans, and the site of it was now a castle-yard attached to Antonia, with a tower at the north-west corner, still called the Acra, after the name of the celebrated Macedonian fortress, but incapable of defence towards the south against an enemy in possession of Antonia.

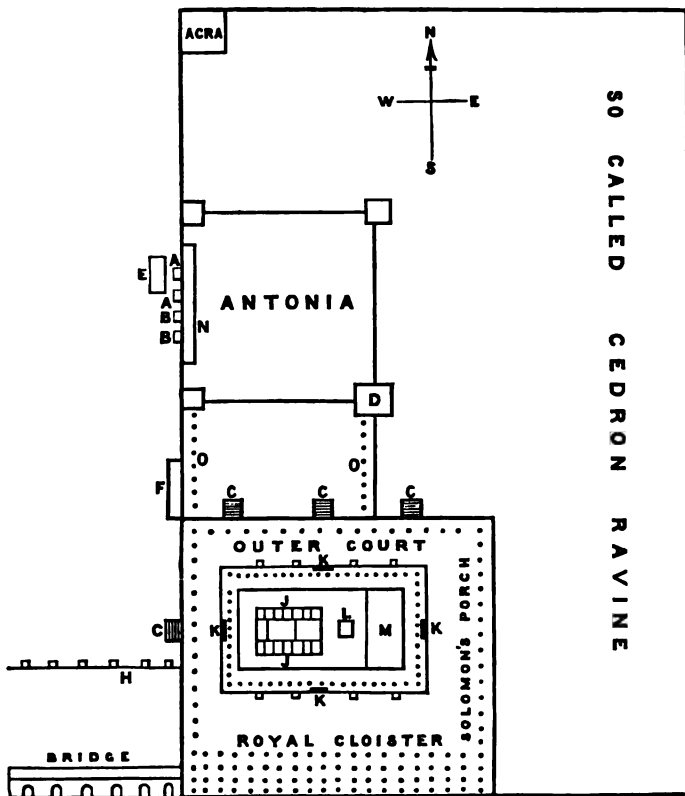
Neither the Temple nor Antonia reached all across the platform to the east; but the open space between them and the eastern wall is referred to by Josephus as the *so-called* Cedron ravine, a phrase to distinguish it from the valley of Jehoshaphat, which he calls simply the Cedron. On the outside of the platform on the western side were two pools, one commencing from the north-west corner of the Temple, and running along the foot of the wall for a space of 84 feet. This still remains, and is called the Mekhimah Pool, and is now, and perhaps always was, arched over, and therefore more properly a great cistern than a pool. More to the north of this, and a little to the west of the wall of Antonia, was another large pool, which is still traceable, called the Struthion or Soapwort Pool, a name given to it from the extensive lavatories about it, and which are still carried on in the immediate neighbourhood.

Titus, on capturing the third wall, had obtained access to the north of the Temple Platform, which was not covered by the second wall, and he had attempted, as we have seen, without mastering the second wall, to carry the Temple Platform by assault from the north; but the bulwarks there had defied him, and he had desisted in despair. Now that he held the second wall and the Inner Low Town, he prepared to assail the western wall of the Temple Platform from the west side, where the wall, as looking toward the city and protected by it, had not been constructed with the same massiveness.

Titus distributed his army into two divisions, and ordered one of them, consisting of the 5th and 12th Legions,¹ to throw up two banks against Antonia, one

¹ Bell. v. 11, 4.

of them about the middle of the Struthion or Soapwort Pool, and the other at the distance from the first of 30 feet.



- | | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A. A. 1st Mounds. | H. Junction of the First Wall, |
| B. B. 2nd Mounds. | J. J. Inner Court. |
| C. C. C. C. 3rd Mounds. | K. K. K. K. Alcoves. |
| D. Main Tower of Antonia, now site | L. Altar. |
| of the Mosque of Omar. | M. Court of Women. |
| E. Struthion Pool. | N. 2nd Temporary Wall. |
| F. Mekhimeh Pool. | O. O. Connecting Cloisters. |

To keep the Jews in check, by dividing their attention, Titus ordered the other division of his army, the 10th and 15th Legions, to proceed against the High

Town. The main citadel—the Palace of Herod—was defended on the north by the three towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne; and as Titus, when master of the third or outer wall, could approach these on the north in the space between the third wall and the second wall (see Plan, p. 25), he had attempted, on the capture of the third wall, to carry the citadel by assault before taking the second wall, but he had been completely foiled by the amazing strength of the fortifications. He had since mastered the second wall, and being now more sanguine of success, he employed the 10th and 15th Legions in throwing up two banks against Herod's Palace. The second wall, which had been purposely left standing in this part, lay between the Almond Pool (now the Pool of Hezekiah) on the east and the tomb or monument of John the High Priest on the west. The 10th Legion was commanded to throw up a bank at the Almond Pool, and the 15th Legion at the High Priest's monument.¹ The engines of war disposed upon the second wall would thus be a protection to the works on either side.

The banks against Antonia, and also those against the High Town, proceeded but slowly, for by this time the Jews had learnt the art of constructing engines, and, what was more important, the art of using them. They had now three hundred scorpions for throwing arrows, and forty ballists for casting stones;² and the effective way in which they worked them so galled the Romans, that only Roman endurance would have persevered.

As much time would be consumed before the works could be completed, Titus during the interval made

¹ Bell. v. 11, 4.

² Bell. v. 9, 2.

another essay to induce the besieged, whose resources were daily dwindling, to surrender without further contest. The negotiator selected was the historian Josephus, who had sense enough to see the hopelessness of the Jewish cause, and eloquence and address enough to plead with his countrymen in the most acceptable form. He was also personally interested in bringing about the immediate cession of the city, for on taking command in Galilee at the outbreak of the war, he had been obliged to leave his family as hostages in Jerusalem; and his father, mother, and wife and children were all now in the hands of the despots.¹ Josephus proceeded on his arduous mission, and posting himself so as to be out of reach of shot, but within hearing, represented the impolicy, and even the impiety, of continuing a struggle that could only lead to the destruction of the city and Temple. By some he was merely derided; but others vented the most dreadful execrations against him, and some even assailed him with missiles.² The populace would willingly, from the miseries they were suffering, have opened the gates; but Simon and John, who were in possession of the walls, were inexorable, and the unarmed multitude were a helpless flock of sheep environed by a pack of ravenous wolves.

Jealously as the people were watched, many who had no domestic ties to keep them in the city contrived to evade the sentinels and desert to the Romans. Before starting upon the venture they would sell their little all for a gold coin, which they swallowed, that on being stripped by the Romans it might not be discovered. The greater part of those who thus came

¹ Bell. v. 9, 4; v. 13, 3.

² Bell. v. 9, 4.

over were allowed to go free; and happy the lot of such as could turn their backs on the Holy City.¹

The horrors that now began to be enacted are truly appalling. Was anyone thought to have treasure? The mere suspicion cost him either his life or his livelihood: for he was forthwith brought to a mock trial and suborned witnesses charged him with treason, viz., an intention of deserting to the enemy; and condemnation to death, or at least the confiscation of goods, immediately followed.²

But scenes of this kind were only the commencement of iniquity. When provisions ceased to be sold in the market, the armed brigands went about the city, breaking into private houses and carrying off all that could be found. If the inhabitants were emaciated, they were allowed to starve; but if in good case they were put to the most excruciating tortures, to make them discover their secret stores.³

Persons that had only themselves to care for, sold their goods for a handful of wheat or barley, and then retired into some remote corner to swallow it. Such as attempted to make it into bread were driven by the cravings of hunger to eat it half-baked.⁴

Families reduced to extremities barricaded their doors, and sat down to their last meal; and often as they were thus engaged armed ruffians would burst open the bars and locks, and rush in for the plunder, when a death-struggle followed. Old men were dragged by the beard, and women by the hair; and children, instinctively clutching a morsel of food, were ruthlessly dashed against the stones.⁵

The poor, of course, suffered most; and where nothing

¹ Bell. v. 10, 1.

² Bell. v. 10, 2.

³ Bell. v. 10, 3.

⁴ Bell. v. 10, 2.

⁵ Bell. v. 10, 3.

remained to sustain life, the father (as his wife and children were pledges for his return) was allowed to pass the gates at night to gather a few herbs from the suburbs, but on his return the heartless guard of the gates robbed him of all he had collected, and sent him home empty to perish with his family.¹

The number that straggled from the walls at night—some, the brigands with arms in quest of plunder, and others, the citizens in search of sustenance—must have been prodigious, if we can credit the statement that five hundred in a night were made prisoners by the Romans.² And how were these poor wretches treated by Titus, ‘the pet and darling of the human race?’ They were scourged and tortured, and then crucified before the walls—nay, mockery was added to their sufferings, for the Romans amused themselves by inventing novelties in the art of cruelty. Some were crucified erect, some head downwards, others sideways, and others in any posture that relieved for the moment the ordinary monotony.³

The object of all this inhumanity was to intimidate those who remained, and force them into surrender. But Simon and John gave out that the crucified were not the prisoners of war, but the deserters; and for a time this ruse had the effect of preventing attempts to escape; but Titus upon this amputated the hands of the prisoners, that they might be unserviceable for war, and then sent them thus mutilated into the city to inform their countrymen of the fact.⁴

All was to no purpose, for Simon and John still resolutely maintained their position; and the desperate bands that fought under their banners still remained

¹ Bell. v. 10, 3.

² Bell. v. 11, 1.

³ Bell. v. 11, 1.

⁴ Bell. v. 11, 2.

faithful, to Simon through fear, and to John through the hopes inspired by his artifices.

About this time arrived in the camp Antiochus Epiphanes, son of the King of Commagene. He brought with him his guards, the finest of all the Commagene regiments, and called 'The Macedonians,' from their being armed after the fashion of Alexander's famous phalanx. They were picked men, and in the prime of life, and full of courage. Young Antiochus himself had never experienced misfortune, and thought the world must bend before him, and was loud in his surprise that the siege should have lasted so long, as it was now about six weeks since the commencement. Titus calmly replied, that there was a clear stage and no favour, and that Antiochus was at full liberty to try his luck. Antiochus upon this carried his Macedonians to the assault; but alas! they little knew the determined and now skilful enemy with whom they had to deal. They advanced with a bold front and rushed up to the wall, but, little used to actual warfare, and unprepared for so vigorous a resistance, they were hurled back in confusion, and throughout the siege we hear no more of the Macedonians.¹

The banks against the Temple Platform had been commenced on 11th May, and at the end of seventeen days, i.e. on 28th May,² they were brought to completion. The engines of war, the scorpions, catapults, and ballists were now advanced to the front, and the rams, slung under the iron-sheathed hurdles, began to play upon the wall. At this moment a low rumbling sound was heard from below, and then, with a mighty crash, the mounds, as if by magic, sunk into the earth.

¹ Bell. v. 11, 3.

² Bell. v. 11, 4.

A cloud of dust arose, and was followed by a sulphurous smoke, as from the bottomless pit, and then flames bursting up, enveloped engines and men in one vast canopy of fire, and the banks were swallowed up and the engines of war consumed. John, in despair of checking the progress of the works by open force, had driven mines under the wall of the Temple Platform into the heart of the banks; and, supporting the earth as he proceeded with wooden props, had excavated the substratum, and filled the cavities with pitch and bitumen and combustible matter; and just as the battering-rams commenced their work, John gave the order to fire the mines, when the banks of the Romans, which had cost them so many weeks' labour, were at once and for ever annihilated.¹

Titus looked for better success with the two other banks against the High Tower; and after two days brought up the battering-rams, under the protection of the iron-sheathed hurdles, flanked by the engines of war. Simon had not the fertile invention of John; but he had more true courage, and a more devoted soldiery. Of all the valiant men that fought under him, none were of a fiercer spirit than Tephthæus and Megassarus. These two, with a band of followers of the same mettle, made a sally from the gates of the High Tower with burning brands, and, amid a storm of missiles from the engines, rushed to the banks, scaled the sides, and before the Romans could stop their headlong course, set fire to the protecting hurdles. The enemy ran up to save at least the battering-rams, and struggled hard to rescue them from the flames, but the desperate assailants would not let go their prey, and, regardless of

¹ Bell. v. 11, 4.

themselves, held the rams in the flames until the work of destruction was complete. Animated by this success, and increasing in numbers, the soldiers of Simon drove the Romans before them, and pursued them to their very camp. Here, however, they met with a check. It was part of the Roman discipline to post a cohort by way of guard in front of the camp, and not a man of them might move a step in retreat, or he was doomed to certain death. This advanced guard now stood firm, and formed a barrier against the surging tide, and at the same time the troops within the lines mounted the engines of war upon the walls, and plied the Jews with missiles. Titus, at the moment of the sally, had been occupied at Antonia reconnoitring the ground for the erection of fresh works in that quarter, but the shouts of the combatants were heard, and at the head of his chosen troops he hurried to the scene of conflict, wheeled round his force, and took the enemy in flank, and, other troops also hastening up to his assistance, he at length forced the Jews back, and drove them with considerable loss into the city. The great object, however, had been accomplished, for the engines and rams, and all the wooden framework of the banks, had been consigned to the flames.¹

These successive disasters, first before Antonia and then before the High Tower, were a heavy blow and great discouragement to the Romans, and Titus called a council of war to deliberate upon future measures. The boldest were of opinion that the whole army should advance simultaneously against the walls, that the attention of the enemy might be distracted, and a breach effected somewhere. Others, more cautious, advised that,

¹ Bell. v. 11, 5.

notwithstanding the present failures, the surest way was to proceed with banks and the battering-ram as before. Others argued that the assault should be turned into a siege; that famine must sooner or later bring about a surrender, and that to offer battle to desperate men, who, if left alone, could not hold out much longer, was a foolish and useless expenditure of human life.¹

Titus listened with composure to these opposite counsels, and then struck out an independent course of his own, which eventually entailed upon the besieged the most fatal results. His proposal was to surround the whole city by a wall of circumvallation, so that all communication with the country might be effectually cut off, and all supplies from it intercepted.

This plan was adopted, and forthwith the whole army was divided into separate bodies, and the work distributed amongst them. The wall began from the camp of the Assyrians, in the Upper Cenopolis, where Titus had pitched his tent, and was carried eastward to the Lower Cenopolis, on the eastern hill, and then across the Cedron or Valley of Jehoshaphat, and ascended a little way up the Mount of Olives. It then turned southward, and continued along the slope of the mount to the Peristereon or Columbarium, the sepulchral caverns at the village of Siloam, and thence, still southward, to the foot of the Mount of Offence, where it crossed the valley near Enrogel or the Well of Job, and ascended the hill of Evil Counsel, and passed westward by the tomb of Annas the High Priest and Pompey's camp, and then turned northward along the west side of the Valley of Hinnom to the hamlet of 'Terebinths,' and on the east side of the Dragon or Serpent Pool

¹ Bell. v. 12, 1.

(now Birket Mamilla), bent round the tomb of Herod eastward, and so reached the camp of the Assyrians, whence it had commenced.¹

The whole length of the wall was forty stades, or five miles, and on the outside were constructed thirteen forts, the united circumference of which was ten stades ;² and yet, such was the zeal and rivalry of the different sections of the army, that the whole work was completed in the space of three days. The Jews, indeed, offered no interruption, for their numbers were so diminished that they could no longer take the field. They could make a sudden sally from the gates against the works nigh at hand, but the wall of circumvallation had been withdrawn to a respectful distance, and had the Jews left the cover of the walls to assault it, their retreat would infallibly have been cut off by overwhelming numbers, and not a man probably would have returned to tell the tale.

As the circumvallation had been originated by Titus, he was anxious to secure its success, and on its completion sentinels paced all night between the towers to prevent a surprise ; and during the first watch, from 6 to 9 P.M., Titus himself made the circuit to see that all were doing their duty. The second watch, from 9 P.M. to midnight, was committed to the renegade Tiberius Alexander, the second in command ; and the two other watches were entrusted to the commanders of the legions.³

¹ Bell. v. 12, 2.

² As the wall was apparently in the line of the third or outer wall of the city on the north, and ran along the farther sides of the valleys of Jehoshaphat and Hinnom, and yet was only forty stades long, how could the city, which lay within the valleys, have been so much as thirty-three stades in circumference ?

³ Bell. v. 12, 2.

Now that the city was hedged in by this impassable barrier, and the scanty supplies which had before been furtively obtained after dark from the environs, were intercepted, the spectral form of famine began to rear itself in the city in its most hideous aspect. Women and children, at the last gasp, lay upon the roofs of houses; old men were found dead in the streets; and youths haunted the market-place with glazed eyes, and bodies distended from inanition; others crawled to their own graves, and lay themselves down, waiting for the hand of death. The stench from the carcasses became insupportable, and it was ordered that they should be carried out of the gate, and thrown into the valley of Hinnom, which now justified its name of Gehenna, a hell upon earth. Here, rotting and putrifying, lay heaps upon heaps of dead bodies, one vast mass of corruption, running with ichor, and poisoning the surrounding air.¹ As Titus looked upon this dreadful sight, he held up his hands to heaven, and protested that not to his charge were these horrors to be laid.²

Simon and John, though death stared them in the face, relented not. Though the struggle was apparently hopeless, they would not allow the word 'Surrender' to be mooted. Simon had been originally introduced into the city by Matthias, and was therefore beholden to him for his present elevation; but when Matthias and his four sons were found to have opened a communication with the Romans, he and three of his sons (for the fourth escaped) were seized, and at once executed. The father implored, as a favour, that he might be slain the first, but even this was denied him, and his three sons were butchered before his face, and then he, too, was decapitated.³

¹ Bell. v. 12, 3.

² Bell. v. 12, 4.

³ Bell. v. 13, 1.

Among the officers of Simon was one Jude, who had the command of a tower in the north wall of the High Tower, and not far from the keep of Phasaelus, in which Simon had his headquarters. Jude, seeing the desperate state of the city, concerted with ten of his comrades, upon whom he could rely for secrecy, to open the gates to the Romans, and so save the remnant of Jerusalem. The next morning Jude, on different pretexts, sent away all his men who were not accomplices, and then shouted to the Romans to hasten up, and take possession of the wall. The Romans had so often been deluded, that they suspected a trick, and it was only after a long pause that Titus was convinced of the sincerity of the invitation, and ordered up a troop to the tower. This delay was the ruin of the plot. Simon, who was near at hand, got wind of what was passing, rushed with his guard to the spot, seized Jude and his fellow-patriots, executed them in the sight of the Romans, and flung their mangled bodies over the rampart. Savage and even brutal as was Simon, and insidious and crafty as was John, one can scarcely withhold the meed of admiration at the desperate obstinacy with which they thus fought the Romans inch by inch. The wonder is, how they could still maintain their authority, and instil the same indomitable spirit into the mass of their followers; but it must be remembered that, of the distress and famine which we have described, the principal victims were the people. The armed soldiery had hitherto staved off the evil by breaking open the houses, and plundering the wretched inhabitants of all that could support life. As for John, he had sacrilegiously seized on the stores of the Temple, and distributed among his followers the large supplies of wine and oil devoted to the sacred

services. But provisions were at length exhausted, and the partisans of the two tyrants were now beginning to sink themselves under the pangs of hunger.

Notwithstanding the jealousy with which the gates were watched, and the horrid tortures inflicted on the discovery of any leaning toward the Romans, desertions increased from day to day. Some, under pretence of making a sally, issued from the gates, brandishing their arms, and raising the shout of battle, and then went over to the enemy. Others, at the risk of their necks, dropped from the walls. Escape but too often ended in death; for in their famished state, they seized on the proffered food with avidity, and so over-loaded their stomachs as to burst asunder. But the great majority fell victims to the avarice of the soldiery. In Jerusalem money was plentiful, but there was nothing to purchase. The deserters were accustomed, before starting, to swallow their gold to avoid being plundered, and when the Romans discovered this *ruse*, they ripped open the fugitives in cold blood, to extract the treasure concealed in the intestines. In one single night no less than 2,000 persons are said to have been thus slaughtered.¹ The Syrians and Arabians were the principal offenders; but even the Legionaries participated, and Titus could not prevent it. The evil, however, partly cured itself; for when it became known that the deserters were inhumanly murdered, those who remained preferred famine in the city to butchery without.²

Titus had now so cooped up the enemy that he had only to rest on his arms, and surrender or desolation must soon follow. He deemed it, however, beneath

¹ Bell. v. 13, 4.

² Bell. v. 13, 5.

the dignity of the Roman name, to wait ingloriously for the work of time, and being at the head of so numerous an army, he thought himself called upon to make another attempt at storming the enfeebled city. He had before directed his efforts simultaneously against both the High Town and the Temple Platform; but the banks against both had been destroyed. He now contracted the area of his operations, and concentrated his whole force against the Temple Platform. Four new mounds, of extraordinary size, and all against the western wall of Antonia, were ordered to be erected. The great difficulty was the want of materials, for the trees in the suburbs had been consumed for the previous works, and the Romans were obliged to fetch their timber from a distance of eleven miles and upwards.¹

John saw the banks gradually rising against Antonia, and yet, from the power and constant play of the Roman engines of war, he could not prevent their progress. He had before succeeded in undermining the *two* mounds; but, with diminished numbers, he could not grapple with the *four*. He looked forward, therefore, to the day when the wall would be battered down, and, to provide against such a catastrophe, he exerted himself to raise a counter-wall behind the first, so that the Romans, when they had breached the first, would be met by a second.

The mounds had been commenced on 7th June, and were now drawing towards their completion, when John determined upon a sally. This was an enterprise of great danger and difficulty, for the Romans, from their repeated losses, had become over-cautious, and the

¹ Bell. vi. 1, 1.

banks were protected by powerful war engines, and a heavy mass of troops were kept continually under arms, ready at a moment's warning to meet an assault. The Jews issued from the gate, but whether it was that they were badly officered, or that famine had broken their spirits, they did not from the first present that solid and compact appearance that augured success. On the contrary, they were seen swerving from side to side, and falling into detached parties; and while some went boldly on, others hesitated. Every step increased the confusion, from the showers of missiles that darkened the air from the scorpions, catapults and ballists that hedged in the works. The column became more and more unsteady, and at last, without having even reached the banks, they turned about and fled tumultuously back into the Temple Platform.¹

The battering-rams were now planted upon the banks, and began to butt against the wall, but the spirit of the Jews upon the ramparts, made amends for their pusillanimity in the field, for they poured down such a volley of stones and other missiles, that the battering-rams were prevented from taking much effect.

Seeing what little progress was made, the Romans had recourse to what they called the *testudo* or tortoise, that is, they advanced against the wall with their shields over their heads, the rear rank kneeling so as to form a slanting roof, and then the foremost rank plied the crowbar to wrench out the stones. They succeeded in dislodging four, but still the wall defied their efforts, and stood firm. Darkness overtook the combatants, and the Romans retired, with broken spirits at the result of the day's labour.²

¹ Bell. vi. 1, 3.

² Ibid.

The night brought them a piece of good luck, which amply compensated for the failure of the day ; silence reigned in the camp and in the Temple Platform, when the wall, which had been undermined by John, and since weakened by the blows of the ram, and the dislodgment of some of the stones, fell inward of its own accord, with a tremendous crash, spreading alarm through both camp and city. The Romans rushed to arms, and on discovering how matters stood, hastened to the breach to take possession of Antonia, when they were met by the inner wall, which John, foreseeing the possibility of such a disaster had erected behind the first. The courage of the Romans fell at the sight, and the Jews exulted that the fortress was still safe.¹

The new wall, however, had been hastily constructed, and had not the strength of the first ; and besides, the ruins of the outer fortification, which had fallen, much facilitated an escalade. Titus therefore called together his troops, and proclaimed high rewards to those who should first mount the rampart. Sabinus, a Syrian by birth, started from the ranks and offered to lead a forlorn hope, and eleven others volunteered to accompany him. In broad daylight, at 12 at noon, on 30th June,² Sabinus and his brave comrades, with their shields over their heads, rushed up the piles of rubbish to the wall. Many were struck down by the missiles from above, but Sabinus and three others gained the summit, and Sabinus waved his sword in triumph. He was dashing against the enemy, when his foot caught a stone, and he tumbled headlong. The Jews turned and threw themselves upon him and prevented his rising. Sabinus, resting upon one knee, fought gallantly against a host

¹ Bell. vi. 1, 4.

² Bell. vi. 1, 6.

of enemies, but, pierced by a hundred wounds, he at last dropped dead at their feet. The three of his comrades who had scaled the wall were also slain, and the other eight were carried off severely wounded.¹

Two days after this, on 2nd July, occurred one of those strange adventures that serve to diversify the monotony of regular warfare. A strong corps kept watch and ward every night over the Roman works. Twenty of these, without any communication with the commanding officer, concerted a surprise upon the enemy, and enlisted with them the standard-bearer of the 5th Legion, with two cavaliers, and (what proved the most important accession of all) a trumpeter. At 3 o'clock in the morning, when all was still as death, they crept softly up to the wall, found the sentinels asleep, and killed them on the spot, and then the trumpeter sounded a charge. The Jews, imagining that the whole army were upon the wall, gave way to a panic, and fled from Antonia into the Temple. Titus, roused by the din, started to his feet and hurried with his guards to the spot, and on ascertaining the true state of things, poured his troops into Antonia, partly over the wall and partly through the mine which had been excavated by John. Emboldened by their success, the Romans even pursued the Jews along the two cloisters that connected the fortress with the Temple, and tried to force their way within the precincts of the outer court. Here, however, a fierce conflict ensued, the Romans pressing on to consummate their victory by the capture of the Temple, and the Jews feeling that if they lost their Temple they had nothing left worth fighting for. In this emergency, the hardy bands of

¹ Bell. vi. 1, 6.

Simon joined themselves to those of John, and both engaged furiously with the enemy. Javelins and arrows were useless, and it was now a hand-to-hand combat at close quarters. The Romans would fain have given way before the desperate valour of the Jews, but the front ranks, being kept in their places, or even forced forward by the pressure from behind, were obliged to fight, though anxious to fly. The living mass swayed backward and forward, as first one party prevailed and then the other, and the shouts of triumph were mingled with the groans of the dying. Some were slain, others trodden to death, and the outer court was strewn with dead bodies. The obstinacy of the Jews carried the day, and at 1 o'clock, after ten hours continuous conflict, the Romans, despairing of success, were seen to fall back.¹

At this moment Julian, a centurion of the Bithynian corps, a distinguished officer, and the bravest of the brave, who happened at the time to be standing near Titus, sprang forward, and forcing his way to the front rank, renewed the fight. The Romans, amazed at the man's gallantry, took him for Castor or Pollux come as of old to the rescue; and the Jews, deeming him more than human, were again driven back across the outer court to the very wall of the Inner Temple. Julian was pressing forward triumphantly, when his nailed shoes slipped on the polished pavement of the outer court, and he was laid on his back. At the clash of his armour the Jews turned and sprang upon their victim. He contracted his neck so as to bring his helmet and breastplate together, and for a long time the Jews could not touch a vital part, while they

¹ Bell. vi. 1, 7.

shockingly mutilated the lower members of his body. Julian, unable to rise, plied his sword, as he lay, with effect against his assailants ; but, overpowered by numbers, he at last surrendered his brave spirit, at a costly price to the victors. Titus was looking on at the prodigious exertions of his gallant centurion, and an involuntary cry escaped him as he marked his fall. Now that their champion was dead, the Romans once more lost heart, and were driven inch by inch before the fierce bands of Simon and John, until not a Roman was left in the court of the Temple, and the gates were closed. Titus, however, was left in possession of fort Antonia ;¹ and so ended the third act of this bloody drama.

¹ Bell. vi. 1, 8.

CHAPTER IV.

‘ And as some spake of the Temple, how it was adorned with goodly stones and gifts, he said, “ As for these things which ye behold, the days will come in the which there shall not be left one stone upon another that shall not be thrown down.” ’—Luke xxi. 5.

To master the Temple, the next step, was no ordinary task, for though devoted to sacred purposes, it was also a citadel of unusual strength. We have already described the platform on which both it and Antonia stood as about 1,500 feet long from north to south, and 900 feet wide from east to west. The Temple was situate at the south-west corner. The outer court was a square of 600 feet every way, and encompassed by a wall 12 feet thick, and round the three sides of the interior, viz., on the north, east, and west, ran a cloister 45 feet wide, and along the southern side was a triple cloister, 105 feet wide. The flat roof of these cloisters served as an admirable post for the movement of troops, and for the disposition of engines of war. Within the outer court was another inner court of rectangular shape (being longer from east to west than it was broad from north to south), and this formed a keep still more formidable. It was ascended on the north, east, and south sides by fourteen steps, but on the west side was a sheer wall of the same height. On the platform at the top of the steps was a wall, $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet

high and 12 feet broad, running round the whole, and having cloisters on the interior. This upper platform was divided into two parts. The eastern half was the court of the women, so called from the admission of the women as well as the men thus far, but no farther. The western half contained the altar and Temple, the altar standing on the east, and to the west of it the sacred fabric, consisting of a vestibule to the east, and behind it, on the west, the Holy of Holies. Round the vestibule and Holy of Holies were ranged small chambers in several stories, in which were kept the habiliments of the priests and the stores for the services of the Temple. The upper platform had nine gates—viz., four on the north, and four on the south; and on the east one only, but which, from its magnificence, eclipsed all the rest, being the Corinthian or Beautiful Gate. Of the gates on the north, three of them led up to the court in which were the Temple and altar, and the fourth to the court of the women. The four gates on the south were opposite to them. Had it not been for these nine gates, which presented comparatively weak points, the upper platform might have been regarded as impregnable.¹

Antonia, now in the possession of the Romans, lay on the north of the Temple, but was not far from it, being removed from it about an interval of 300 feet. It had been originally built as a kind of vestry, for the safe custody of the pontifical robes, and called the Bireh, or in its Greek form, the Baris, or Castle. Herod still farther strengthened and beautified the Baris, and called it, after the name of his friend Mark Antony, Antonia. As left by Herod, it was a

¹ Bell. v. 5, 2.

quadrangular fortress, about 300 feet on each side ; and while, from its regular shape, it presented the appearance, as a whole, of one vast tower, it had also, at each corner, a separate tower rising above the general height, and in particular, at the south-east corner, was a grand tower much exceeding the rest, and attaining an altitude of 105 feet. The object of this extra height was, that it might command a view of the proceedings in the Temple. As the sacred edifice was the heart of Jerusalem, from which all its pulsations issued, Herod's object was to place it under military control, and this was effected by uniting Antonia to the Temple by means of two connecting cloisters or colonnades parallel to each other. One of them ran from the south-west corner of Antonia to the north-west corner of the Temple, and joined on to the western cloister. The other parallel cloister started from the south-east corner of Antonia, and ran to a point in the northern cloister of the Temple, about 475 feet from the western end, and 125 feet from the eastern end. Thus the troops quartered in the fortress had free access along the two parallel colonnades to the cloisters of the Temple, either along the flat roofs, or along the galleries below. The spirit of the Jews was so disorderly and turbulent, that at every festival, as a matter of course, a cohort was posted on the roof of the western cloister of the Temple to repress the disturbances that were almost sure to occur.

Such were the relative positions of Antonia and the Temple, and Titus being master of the former, had now to concert his measures for the capture of the latter. His first aim was to clear the ground for the free movement of the troops, and the whole fortress of Antonia was razed and levelled with the exception, first, of the great

south-east tower, which would be convenient for watching the enemy, and secondly, of the two parallel cloisters, which would facilitate the assault upon the Temple. The clearance of the ground occupied a space of seven days.¹

On the 14th of July occurred an event which had the effect of greatly depressing the spirits of the Jews. The daily sacrifice, which had hitherto been regularly offered in the Temple, now for the first time, either from want of victims or want of proper ministers, came to an end. Titus received intelligence of the despondency thus caused, and thought it a suitable opportunity for renewing his overtures. He therefore commissioned Josephus to convey a message to John that the Romans desired the preservation of the Temple and the continuance of the sacrifices, and would afford every facility; that if John relied upon the strength and courage of his troops, the Romans would give him a fair field without the walls, but that the sacred edifice ought not to be sacrificed to the obstinacy of its votaries. Josephus also added his own personal remonstrances, in the hope of bringing his countrymen, at this the eleventh hour, to reason. John replied haughtily that Jehovah would take care of his own sanctuary, and bade the Romans defiance.²

The appeal of Josephus, however, produced a great effect upon the priests, the order to which he belonged himself, and also upon many of the higher class, so that considerable numbers watched their opportunity and escaped to the Romans. Titus, who was near at hand, and could protect them from the violence of the soldiery, received them even with courtesy, and sent them to a distance at Gophna, with a promise that when the war was over he would even restore their possessions.³

¹ Bell. vi. 2, 7.

² Bell. vi. 2, 1.

³ Bell. vi. 2, 2.

This act of generosity was intended as a politic encouragement to desertion, but such was the subtle and serpent-like astuteness of John, that it was turned to the very opposite account. As the deserters were not to be seen, John spread the rumour that they had been murdered secretly, and hence the feeling that starvation within was preferable to assassination without. When this reached the ears of Titus, he summoned all the deserters from Gophna, and paraded them before the walls, and Josephus again, with tears and entreaties, implored his countrymen to accept the proffered boon. The insurgents were steeled against every argument, and only vented curses against Josephus, whom they branded as a traitor.¹

As remonstrances were unavailing, Titus had no alternative but an appeal to arms. As he had captured Antonia by a surprise at night, why not the Temple in the same way? Hope whispered the affirmative, and he resolved on the attempt. The space was so confined that only a small portion of his force could act at once, and he therefore selected thirty of the bravest from each century, and placed the whole under the orders of one of his best officers, Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the 5th Legion. Titus was anxious to lead them himself, but it was justly represented that so valuable a life ought not to be lightly committed to the casualties of a sanguinary conflict, and that he would contribute much more to the chances of success by posting himself on the remaining great tower of Antonia, whence he might overlook the exertions of his faithful legionaries, and be enabled to judge of their claims to reward.

The most favourable time for the assault was thought to be three o'clock in the morning, and at that hour

¹ Bell. vi. 2, 2.

Cerealis and his chosen band advanced with as much secrecy and silence as possible along the galleries of the two connecting cloisters to the gates of the outer court below, and along the flat roofs of the connecting cloisters above. Whether it was that the Jews had received intimation of the intended attack, or that from the loss of Antonia they had become more vigilant, they were now on the alert, and the sentries gave the alarm. At once the troops of John rushed to the spot, and were soon followed by those of Simon. A mortal struggle at close quarters commenced, and the dead bodies of Jews and Romans in one blended mass choked the entrances to the Temple. Many of the Jews fell by the hands of their own countrymen, for the followers of Simon and John, having no common watchword, not unfrequently mistook their retreating friends for foes. The day dawned, and still the battle raged. Titus and his staff from Antonia, and John and Simon from the cloisters of the Temple, watched every movement, and stimulated the ardour of the combatants. The Temple was like a gladiatorial arena, and around were the hosts of spectators, showing by their vociferations and gestures how deeply they participated in every turn of the strife. The onslaught abated not till 11 o'clock in the forenoon, when the dogged courage of the Jews prevailed, and the Romans, beaten back and despairing of success, retired sullenly within the precincts of Antonia, leaving the enemy in possession of the Temple.¹

It was evident from this failure that any assault without the aid of auxiliary works would be hopeless. Titus therefore ordered the erection of four mounds, two within the site of Antonia, or rather between the

¹ Bell. vi. 2, 5.

two parallel cloisters that connected Antonia with the Temple, and two others on the exterior. Of those *within* Antonia one was opposite the north-west corner of the Inner Temple, and the other opposite the alcove, between the two middle gates of the court of the Inner Temple, which contained the sacred fabric. Of those *without* Antonia, one was directed against the northern cloister of the Outer Temple, and was therefore a little eastward of the eastern parallel which connected Antonia with the Temple, and the other was against the western cloister of the Outer Temple, and opposite the alcove in the west wall of the Inner Temple.¹ These works proceeded but slowly, for, in the first place, the Romans had to bring the materials a greater distance than ever, and when the timber was collected the artisans were annoyed by incessant flights of missiles from those who manned the walls.

The only relief to the monotony of this daily warfare was an attempt of the Jews on one occasion to force the wall of circumvallation. As the 10th Legion, which was quartered on Mount Olivet, was known to take their principal meal at five o'clock in the afternoon, it was hoped that they might be surprised, and at that hour a strong band sallied from the eastern gate, rushed up the slope of

¹ Bell. vi. 2, 7 ; vi. 4, 1. As the alcove was probably in the middle of the western wall of the Inner Temple, the first wall must have crossed from Sion to the south of this; or the Romans, who had not yet captured the first wall, could not have thrown up this mound. On the other hand, as the first wall joined the western cloister of the Temple, and not the southern, it could not have passed over the bridge which led to the centre nave of the royal or southern cloister. The wall, therefore, must have crossed between these two points, i. e. at the wailing place, where the square holes in the stones seem to indicate the former junction of another building.

Olivet, and approached the circumvallation wall. But the Romans had suffered too often before from the adventurous spirit of the Jews to be thus caught off their guard, and, before the insurgents could reach the goal, the alarm was given, and the troops, seizing their arms, ran together to the spot, and presented such a serried front that an ill-organized band, however brave, could have no chance of breaking it. Impetuous and fierce as was the onset of the Jews, it was met by the cool and disciplined courage of the Romans, and, after a short and sharp struggle, the Jews were driven down the hill in confusion, and made for the gate. A trooper in pursuit greatly signalised himself on this occasion by a feat of muscular strength. From his horse's back, and at full tilt, he seized a fugitive, and holding him by the heel, carried him off in triumph, and threw him down at the feet of Titus.¹

Escape was now more than ever hopeless, and the Jews, having to defend themselves as best they could within the walls, committed an act of desecration that shocked the consciences of the more religious part of the community. The two connecting cloisters that incorporated Antonia with the courts of the Temple were regarded as parts of the sacred edifice, and had hitherto been spared both by Romans and Jews. At the same time, these corridors offered facilities for mutual assaults, and particularly the western parallel had been employed by the Romans as a ready approach against the enemy. The Jews therefore resolved on its destruction, and on the 19th of July they cut away thirty feet of the parallel at its junction to the northern cloister of the Temple, and then set fire to the rest of it. The work

¹ Bell. vi. 2, 8.

of desecration once begun by the Jews, was soon followed up by the Romans, who two days after, on the 21st of July, set fire to the eastern parallel, and, as the flames advanced southward, the Jews, to save the northern cloister of the Temple, were obliged to sever that parallel also from the courts of the Temple by cutting away the point of junction.¹ This greatly dispirited the Jews, for an old prophecy ran :

‘ When square the walls,
The Temple falls; ’²

and now this had come to pass. The Temple had comprised not only the outer court, a regular square of 600 feet, but also Antonia, which was united to the Temple by the connecting parallels, and so gave it an irregular configuration ; but now that the parallels were broken away, the Temple was seen to stand an isolated square, and the morbid imaginations of the beholders already pictured the holy fabric enveloped in flames.

The mound against the western cloister was approaching completion, and then the outer court would of course be in the power of the Romans. But apparently there was no need to wait for this, for the western cloister was so ill guarded that with a little spirit it might be stormed. The Jews, as if despairing of defence in that part, seemed to have lost their energy. The troops collected there were few in number, and the engines of war had been removed elsewhere. The golden opportunity was seized, and scaling ladders were brought, and the Romans, running up, mounted upon the cloister. The Jews fled, and the bands of Romans, following in quick succession, covered the spacious roof.

¹ Bell. vi. 2, 9.

² Bell. vi. 5, 4.

Just as the Romans raised a shout of triumph they found themselves engulfed in a sea of flame. The subtle genius of John had lined the hollow space between the rafters and the ceiling with dry wood, pitch, and bitumen, and at the right moment the whole was set on fire. Great was the consternation of the legionaries on finding themselves thus entrapped. Some were overtaken by the flames, and were smothered or burnt; some, in anticipation, laid violent hands on themselves; some leaped down into the outer court and were despatched by the Jews; some precipitated themselves on the other side into the city, and were taken up dead or with broken limbs; others, springing from the roof of the cloister upon the wall, ran along it until they were shot down by the Jewish missiles. One Artorius escaped by a singular artifice. Standing on the verge of the wall, he shouted to those below, 'Whoever catches me shall be my heir!' A Roman started forward and accepted the terms. The expectant heir was dashed to the ground and killed; Artorius survived!

Toward the southern end of the western cloister was the bridge, which crossed the valley westward by a succession of arches to the opposite hill, on which stood the High Town. This was the grand approach to the Temple, and, in the wars between John and Simon, John had erected a tower in the western cloister of the Temple, at the eastern end of the bridge, to check incursions by the partisans of Simon, who occupied the High Town. The whole of the western cloister, from the northern termination down to this tower of John, was now destroyed by the fire; and so perished one limb of the magnificent

¹ Bell. vi. 3, 1.

cloisters, erected at so vast an expense by Herod. The western cloister was that on which the Roman cohorts had been wont to station themselves to overawe the tumultuous masses in the court below; and they little dreamt that this, their post of pride, would one day be their grave.

The next day the Romans, who had hitherto endeavoured to save the Temple in its integrity, set fire themselves to the northern cloister, and the whole of it from east to west was burnt to the ground. Thus, both on the west and north sides, the Inner Temple was now exposed to the invader, and yet, seated as it was upon a high terrace, surrounded with a strong wall bristling with arms and engines of war, it still frowned defiance.

Dreadful as were the ravages of war, still more appalling, meanwhile, were the fatal effects of the famine. The provisions of the city had been utterly used up, and the insurgents, no longer finding victims for plunder, were at their wits' end to support life. Occasionally, a Roman cavalry horse would stray to the neighbourhood of the gates, when a starving band would rush out and capture the beast; but what was this among so many thousands? Even these windfalls were soon cut off, for Titus, justly imputing the loss of their horses to the negligence of the riders, ordered a soldier who had suffered in this way to instant execution, and this act of severity had the desired effect of preventing the recurrence of the complaint.¹ The besieged now staggered about from weakness, like drunken men, and their senses being unhinged and their memory gone, they would break into the same house two or three times the same day in search of

¹ Bell. vi. 2, 7.

food, unconscious that they had paid the like visit before. In the extremity of their distress they gnawed the hides from their shields and the leather of their belts and shoes, and even a whisp of hay or straw was found a relief to the pangs of hunger.¹ But one horrible deed eclipses all the rest:—A lady of rank and fortune, Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, had been obliged to fly from Peræa beyond Jordan to take refuge in Jerusalem. The insurgents had stripped her house of every article of food, and left her and her infant child to starve. As the armed brigands passed her door they inhaled the fumes of the kitchen, and rushed into the house, and threatened instant death unless the savoury viands were disclosed. She led them aside and showed them, to their horror, the remains of her child. Maddened by the cravings of nature, she had murdered the infant at her breast and cooked it for food!²

The bank against the western wall of the Inner Temple had now been carried across the smouldering ruins of the western cloister and the outer court, and the battering-ram mounted upon it was made to play against the Inner Temple in vain, for such was the compactness of the solid mass of masonry that the ram produced no effect. Another more powerful engine was substituted, but no better result followed. For six days the most persevering efforts were continued, and then the Romans gave it up in despair.³

Meanwhile, a second bank had also been perfected, viz., the bank outside of Antonia, directed against the northern cloister of the Inner Temple. It had gradually progressed across the débris of the northern cloister of

¹ Bell. vi. 3, 3.

² Bell. vi. 3, 4.

³ Bell. vi. 4, 1.

the Outer Temple, which had been burnt, and across the outer court, and now approached the foot of the most easterly of the four northern gates of the Inner Temple. Titus at this time was anxious to save the sacred fabric with its cloisters as a trophy of arms, and ordered his legionaries to force the gate opposite the bank with crowbars and levers, and after great exertions a few of the stones at the threshold were dislodged, but the gate itself, supported by the solid masses at the side and the supports within, stood firm. Titus ordered an escalade, and ladders were brought, and the Romans mounted with alacrity. Indeed, the Jews offered little resistance to the ascent, but no sooner were the Romans up than some were sabred as they stepped off the ladders ; others, who had gained a footing on the wall, were surrounded and slain, and not a few of the ladders, loaded with men, were thrown backward, and all upon it dashed headlong against the hard pavement below. Titus did not yet despair, but ordered up the colours, or ensigns, in the hope that his legionaries would at least rally round these. The Jews even allowed the standards to be carried up upon the wall, but there ensued a deadly and desperate conflict between the Romans in defence of their colours, and the Jews to get possession of them. The Jews again prevailed, and bore off the colours in triumph. This indelible disgrace to the Roman arms was witnessed by the assembled force below, but not a man who had mounted the cloister ever rejoined the ranks.¹

The battery from the western mound had failed, and the attempt to force the northern gate had failed, and the escalade had failed, and Titus, disappointed and

¹ Bell. vi. 4, 1.

nettled, commanded his troops to set fire to the magnificent gate which had thus successfully resisted his efforts. The soldiery were but too ready to obey the behest, and in a minute the northern gate was in a blaze. The plates of silver that covered it flowed down in liquid streams, and, as might or must have been foreseen, the gorgeous cloisters that communicated with it became also the prey of the devouring element. Now it was that the spirit of the Jews for the moment was broken ; stricken to the earth by consternation at the depth of the calamity, they became paralysed, and made no effort to extinguish the flames, but looked on in silent despair. This was on the 3rd of August, and for the rest of the day and throughout the night the conflagration continued.¹

On the 4th of August, the sacred fabric, though encircled by flames, was still standing, and Titus called a council of his generals to deliberate upon its fate. Besides Titus, there were present the six most prominent personages of the army, viz., Tiberius Alexander, the second in command ; Sextus Cerealis, the commander of the 5th Legion ; Larcus Lapidus of the 10th ; Titus Phrygius of the 15th ; Fronto of Liternum, who led the Alexandrian cohorts ; and Marcus Antonius Julianus, the Procurator of Judæa. Some cried impetuously, 'Down with the Temple to the ground!' for that it was the very heart and centre of the whole rebellion. Others advised more guardedly, that if abandoned by the Jews it should be preserved, but if converted into a citadel or military position, it ought to be razed. Titus expressed his opinion that the sanctuary, whatever use might be made of it by the Jews, ought, for

¹ Bell. vi. 4, 2.

their own sake, to be saved as a monument of their prowess. Alexander, Cerealis, and Fronto expressed their concurrence in this view, and the majority therefore favoured the preservation of the Temple. Orders were given for preventing the conflagration from reaching the sanctuary, and to clear the ground for an assault upon the platform on which it stood. The Romans were occupied the rest of the day upon these works, and the Jews, dejected by the destruction of the cloister, did not venture upon a renewal of hostilities.¹

The 5th of August, a day of ominous import, dawned upon the besieged. It was on that very day that the Temple of Solomon had been burnt by Nebuchadnezzar. Was the Temple of Herod to share the same fate on the same day? The partisans of John and Simon showed no superstitious dread of it, for their courage, which had slumbered all the day before, now rose to its highest pitch, and at eight o'clock in the morning, sallying from the eastern gate, they rushed down upon the Roman legionaries. The Romans formed in close rank, and, armed with large shields, stood like a wall to receive their charge, but the Jews poured down in ever-increasing numbers, and would have prevailed had not Titus, who was on the look-out from the remaining tower of Antonia, hastened with his chosen guard to their relief. Narrow as the space was, it is said that even a body of cavalry rode in amongst the Jews, and trampled them down. The contest was a severe one, and it was not till one o'clock in the day that the Jews, exhausted and overmatched, were driven back, and again shut up within the walls of the Inner Temple.²

¹ Bell. vi. 4, 3.

² Bell. vi. 14, 4.

Titus having secured the victory to his troops, retired to his tent to repose himself after his fatigues. The troops proceeded to clear the ground, and the enemy offering no resistance, they ascended the platform to extinguish the smouldering fires of the cloisters. All at once the indomitable bands of John and Simon, having recovered breath after the morning's exertion, rushed upon their foes and engaged in another death struggle. At this moment a soldier, without orders, and actuated only by the spirit of revenge, seized a burning brand from the cloister, and mounting on the back of a comrade, hurled it into the window of one of the side chambers that enclosed the sacred fabric on the north. Ignition in the hot month of August was easy, and in a few minutes the flames were seen to ascend. A convulsive cry arose from the Jews as they beheld their beloved Temple approaching its fate. They sprang to the rescue, but extinguishment was beyond human effort.¹

Tidings came to Titus in his tent that the Temple was on fire, and he instantly started up, and, accompanied by his body-guard of spearmen, commanded by Liberatus, hastened to the spot. All the officers followed in his wake, and after them the legionaries *en masse*. Titus forced his way into the first court of the Inner Temple, the court of the women, and then into the second court, which contained the sacred fabric, and by shouts and gestures implored the assembled multitudes to assist in subduing the flames, but the clamour and din that reigned on all sides drowned his voice, and distracted attention from his gestures. The confusion was increased by the legionaries, who had climbed the ascent after him in a tumultuous body. The entrances

¹ Bell. vi. 4, 5.

to the upper platform were choked with men, and some fell and were trampled to death, and others were thrown down amongst the smouldering ruins of the cloister, and suffocated or burnt. Those who reached the sanctuary paid not the least regard to the commands or remonstrances, or even the threats of Titus, but, instead of averting destruction from the holy pile, encouraged those before them to complete its destruction.¹

Titus saw that the fate of the Temple was sealed, and eager, from natural curiosity, to inspect the interior of perhaps the most celebrated edifice in the world, he hastened with his guards to the vestibule, and entered the Holy or first shrine, and then the Holy of Holies. The flames had hitherto enveloped the chambers only round the exterior, and had not touched the sanctuary itself, and Titus was so struck with the beauty and magnificence of what he beheld, that the thought still recurred, was it not possible to save this glorious production of human skill? He rushed back through the portal, and again implored the Romans to exert themselves to preserve so renowned a monument, and even ordered Liberatus, the centurion of his guard, to inflict corporal chastisement on any that disobeyed. All was in vain. The fury of the soldiery predominated, and even his own immediate followers were so far from paying respect to his injunctions, that one of them, as Titus left the sanctuary, thrust a burning flambeau into the woodwork of the doorway, and the whole Temple now became one volume of fire. Seated as it was upon an elevated platform, it presented the appearance of a vast volcano surging and seething from the bowels of the earth, and vomiting a sea of flame up to the skies.

¹ Bell. vi. 4, 6.

The roar of the conflagration was only equalled by the shouts of the triumphant Romans and the shrieks of their despairing victims. The whole upper city, though divided by a valley, was a spectator of this scene of devastation, and the hills around re-echoed a nation's wail.¹

What became of the desperate bands of John and Simon? Driven by fire and sword from the fastness of the Inner Temple, they lost not their wonted energy, but facing the dense ranks of the legionaries that surrounded them, cut their way through to the outer court, and thence gained the bridge that led from the southwest corner of the outer court, and reached in safety the Upper Town to bid defiance once more to the Roman arms.²

The scene that they left behind them beggars all description. A general carnage, remorseless and indiscriminate, followed, and men unarmed and begging on their knees for mercy, priests in their robes, women and children, were murdered in the madness of the moment, without regard to the laws of war, without distinction of age, or sex, or office. Streams of blood were seen to flow down the steps of the altar, and the pavement was covered with dead bodies, over which the brutal soldiery still struggled in pursuit of the wretched fugitives.³

Some anticipated death from the hand of the enemy by precipitating themselves into the flames. A numerous body of the priests found their way to the top of the broad wall of the Inner Temple, and there stood motionless as statues aghast at the sight before them. A multitude of the populace, amounting to 6,000, took

¹ Bell. vi. 4, 7.

² Bell. vi. 5, 1.

³ Bell. vi. 5, 1.

refuge on the roof of the royal cloister, along the south side of the Outer Temple. The Romans most inhumanly set fire to the latter cloister, and not a living soul of all the 6,000 escaped. As for the priests who still survived upon the wall of the Inner Temple, they were soon driven by famine to surrender at discretion, and Titus ordered them all to execution, with the cold remark that, as the Temple was destroyed, their office was gone, and that the priests of the Temple who had lived by it should also perish with it.

The Romans even wreaked their vengeance upon inanimate objects ; for, leaving only the bare walls of the Inner Temple, they destroyed what remained of the cloisters, and demolished the gates with the exception of the Beautiful Gate on the east, and the Royal Gate on the south, which were for the present spared. They also delivered over to the flames the famous Treasury, in which, as the great national bank, vast heaps of wealth had been accumulated.¹

The Romans now in triumph carried their ensigns into the Temple, and, planting them opposite the Beautiful or Corinthian Gate (the eastern), offered sacrifices to them, according to their custom, and saluted Titus as Imperator.² Thus stood, in the Holy Place, the abomination of desolation spoken of by the prophet Daniel, and so dropped the curtain upon the fourth act of this mournful tragedy.

¹ Bell. vi. 5, 2.

² Bell. vi. 6, 1.

CHAPTER V.

'They shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.'—Luke xxi. 24.

TITUS had mastered successively the New Town or Cenopolis, and the Inner Low Town, a part of Acra, and the Temple Platform, another part of Acra; and by the possession of the Temple Platform he held the key of the Outer Low Town, the remaining part of Acra, situate on Ophel to the south of the Temple. The Outer Low Town had no independent defences on the north, and could therefore at any time be deluged by troops from the Temple. The only quarter of the city that could still maintain itself was the High Town or Upper Market, now called Sion, which, being surrounded by valleys, and surmounted besides by a strong wall, could bid defiance for a time to any assault.

The united bands of Simon and John, who held the High Town, had been much weakened by desertion, and still more by the inroads of famine, and could not hope to resist the regular approaches of the Roman arms for any lengthened period. Simon and John therefore invited Titus to a parley, and Titus, having no thirst for blood, except as means to an end, acceded to the request. The place fixed upon for the interview, had it been designed for the purpose, could not have

been more favourable. It was the great bridge or viaduct, 51 feet wide (for the base of one of the arches still remains), which led from the royal cloister, at the south-west corner of the Temple, across the Tyropæon valley to the opposite hill. At the eastern end it was flanked on the north side by the tower which John had erected against the incursions of Simon, and at the western end it was flanked on the south side by the tower which Simon had erected against the incursions of John. Titus, with an interpreter, and surrounded by his guard, took his stand at the eastern end of the bridge, and Simon and John, with their adherents, at the western end.¹

Titus, as the superior, opened the conference, and expostulated with the Jews on the obstinacy which had already led to the destruction of the Temple and the greater part of the city—that all the world, nay, the Britons, who were outside the world, had done homage to the Romans; and Titus ended by offering them their lives if the insurgents would lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners of war.

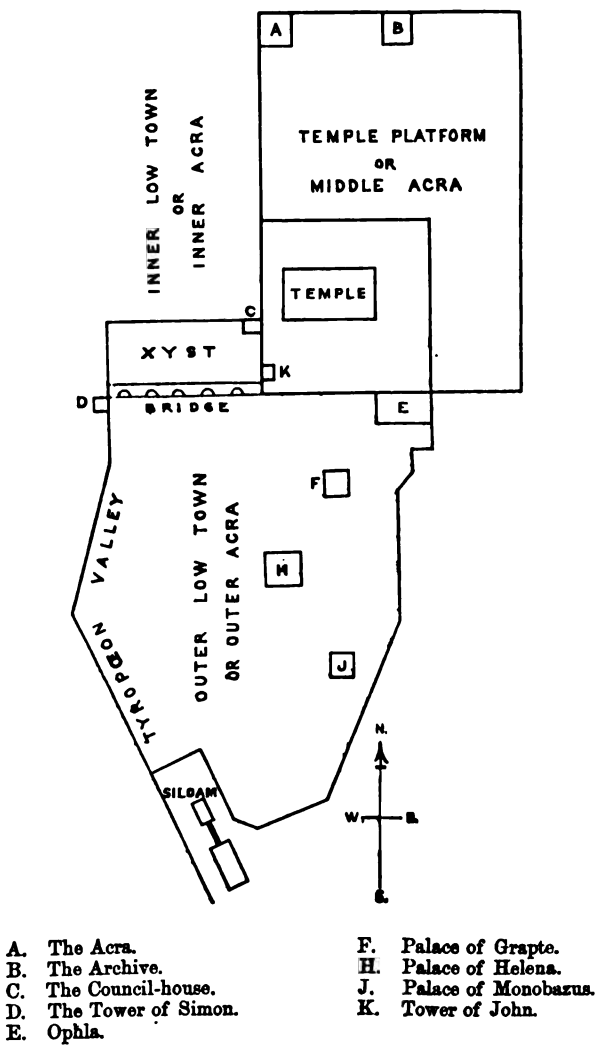
Simon and John replied that they and their adherents had bound themselves, by a solemn oath to Almighty God, never to surrender themselves into the hands of the Romans; but they expressed their willingness to retire with their wives and children into the wilderness, and leave the Romans in possession of the city. Titus considered this language, from men in their desperate condition, as a mockery, and answered sternly that henceforth he would receive no deserters and show no mercy, and they might fight their hardest.²

Nothing more was done on that day, but on the

¹ Bell. vi. 6, 2.

² Bell. vi. 6, 3.

following the work of desolation began by the destruction of the remaining public buildings about the Temple



Platform. The first prey to the flames was the Archive,

situate in the middle of the northern wall of the Temple Platform, and, in the time of the kings of Judah, used as the King's Bench, or royal seat for the administration of justice. Annexed to it were the prison and stocks in which the Prophet Jeremiah had been confined by King Zedekiah. Fire was next applied to the Acra, at the north-west corner of the Temple Platform, and so called from its occupying the site of the famous Acra of the Macedonians. The latter had been razed, and the rock on which it stood had been cut away, but a wall of rock had been left and a tower erected for the defence of the Platform, in the place of the Acra. Next was consumed the Council-house, half-way down the west side of the Temple Platform, in which, during the domination of the Romans, the Sanhedrim had been wont to hold its sittings. It stood on or near the spot where is still the Mekhimeh, or Town-hall. The fatal brand next invaded Ophla, the inclosure on the south of the Temple platform, occupied by the priests and servants of the Temple, and from Ophla the flames spread southward, consuming whole streets, as far as the Palace of Helena, Queen of Adiabene.¹ Many of the houses were in truth funeral piles, for they were filled with dead bodies which the survivors had not possessed the strength to carry out of the walls, but had stowed away in these charnel-houses. In the times of David and Solomon, Ophel (for so the wedge-like hill on the south of the Platform is called) had been the seat of royalty, but Herod had transferred his palace to the north-west corner of the High Town. However, Ophel was still distinguished as the residence of the royal family of Adiabene. In the middle of Ophel stood the

¹ Bell: vi. 6, 3.

noble Palace of Helena, a spacious building, and of great strength, and at this time the repository not only of the Adiabene treasures, but also of the valuable effects of the other inhabitants of the Outer Low Town. Near it had been erected a palace by Grapte, another member of the same family, and more to the south another palace still by Monobazus, the brother of Izates, and son of Helena. Hitherto the descendants of Helena, whether from necessity or choice, had taken an active part with the insurgents against the Romans, but now that the conflagration approached the Palace of Helena, where all their wealth was hoarded, their hearts failed them, and they went over in a body to the Romans. Titus had declared that henceforth no deserters would be received, but royal blood pleaded powerfully, and their lives were spared. They were not set at liberty, however, but were reserved as hostages for the good behaviour of their countrymen.¹

No sooner was the tergiversation of the Adiabene clan discovered by the insurgents than, urged by a spirit of vengeance as well as of plunder, they rushed to the Palace of Helena and (with the exception of two Romans whom they found there) murdered all who had taken refuge within its walls, amounting to many thousands. Of the two Romans, one was a legionary, and the other a trooper. Revenge is sweet, on however small a scale and however shortlived, and the poor legionary was led to the block. The trooper intimated that he had an important disclosure to make, and was conducted into the presence of Simon; but it was a mere subterfuge, and he also was ordered for execution. As the fatal axe was raised, he, by a convulsive effort, set free his

¹ Bell. vi. 6, 4.

hands, tore the bandage from his eyes, and, darting forward, escaped to the Roman camp. Titus would not take his life, but cashiered him from the army as unworthy after captivity to carry the Roman arms.¹

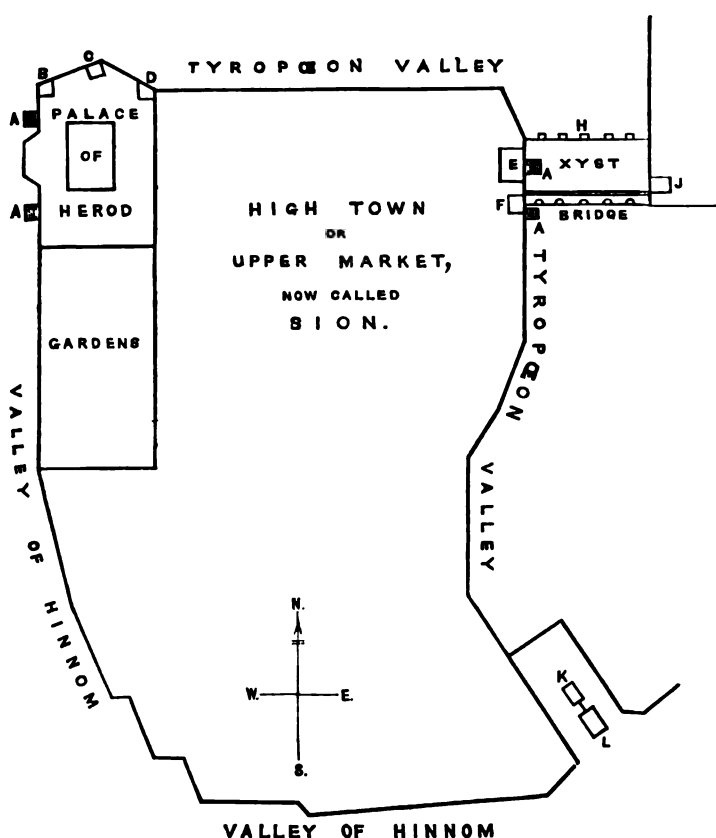
The insurgents plundered the Palace of Helena of all its treasures, sacked the rest of the Outer Low Town, and then carried off their booty into the High Town, where they took their stand. Titus, irritated at seeing his prey escape from his hands, ordered what remained of the Outer Low Town to be burnt, and the flames now extended down to the very southern point of the wedge overlooking the fountain of Siloam, so that the hill of Ophel, from the Temple Platform to Siloam, became one scene of desolation.² At the present day, if it were not for the occasional escarpment of the rock, and the abundance of pottery that everywhere appears on turning up the soil, no one would imagine that this had once been a beautiful and populous quarter of old Jerusalem.

As the High Town was defended by ravines—namely, the valley of Hinnom on the south and west, and the Tyropæon on the east and north—and was also fortified by a wall, it was necessary to proceed against it by regular approaches; and on the 15th of August directions were given for the erection of banks, some on the west side of the city against the Palace of Herod, and others on the east side, in the neighbourhood of the Temple. The army was divided into two bodies, one the legionary force, and the other the allies. To the four legions were assigned the banks on the west, and to the allies the banks on the east. It is remarkable that on this occasion only is mention made of the allies

¹ Bell. vi. 7, 1.

² Bell. vi. 7, 2.

as taking an active part in the siege. We know from incidental notices that Agrippa, King of Trachonitis, Antiochus from Commagene, and the King of Petra,



- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| A A A A. The four Mounds or Banks. | F. The tower of Simon. |
| B. The tower Hippicus. | H. Wall from High Town to the Temple. |
| C. The tower Phasaelus. | J. The tower of John. |
| D. The tower Mariamne. | K. The Pool of Siloam. |
| E. The Palace of Agrippa. | L. The King's Pool. |

either personally or by deputy, and no doubt several others, were present with their respective contingents,

and from this distribution of the banks by Titus between the legions on the west and the allies on the east, one is led to suppose, as probably was the fact, that the allies were almost, if not altogether, as numerous as the Romans ; and yet the courtly Josephus, from his strong leaning in favour of Vespasian and Titus, to whose protection and patronage he owed his life and fortune, gives no credit for any exploit to the allies, but attributes the success of the siege throughout solely and exclusively to the Romans. It must be confessed that while in general, and where not warped by personal interest, Josephus is an accurate and faithful historian, yet where his narrative concerns the Romans on the one hand, and the Jewish factions opposed to Josephus personally on the other, his impartiality is open to suspicion. Had any of the adherents of Simon or John written an account of the siege, we might have looked upon a very different picture. Josephus presents Simon and John to us in colours calculated only to excite abhorrence ; but the steady and unflinching courage with which to the last, and even against hope, they maintained their independence against the overwhelming numbers of the enemy (a struggle that has scarcely a counterpart in history), prompts the thought that, after all, they glowed with the noble fire of patriotism, and were actuated by higher and more creditable motives than any assigned to them by the Romano-Jewish historian.

The point selected for the banks on the west was one which was naturally the weakest, but artificially the strongest. At the north-west corner of the High Town, the valley of Hinnom coming up from the south, and here comparatively shallow, shoots off in a north-western direction, and, on the other hand, the Tyropœon

valley ascending from the east, and running along the foot of the north wall of the High Town, is, at its termination at the north-west corner, almost on a level with the adjacent ground. Thus the High Town may be regarded as a peninsula hanging to the mainland by an isthmus at the north-west corner. Fortunately, just where the neck of the isthmus begins rises a rocky knoll, and from the earliest times this has been occupied by works of the greatest strength. It was the citadel erected on this spot that induced the Jebusites of old to throw out the taunt against David that 'the blind and the lame could keep the ramparts.' In the days of Herod the royal palace was transferred to this angle of the High Town, and was fortified by a wall of amazing strength on the west, and by the three famous towers, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, on the north. As the palace with its outworks commanded the High Town, which could not be held by an enemy without possession of the castle, the object now was to storm it by banks, and all the four legions were employed upon the task.¹

The banks committed to the allies on the east of the High Town were constructed by them opposite the Temple, where the brow of the High Town at the north-east corner is considerably depressed below the height which it attains a little more to the south. From the south-west corner of the Temple ran, as we have said, a bridge of great breadth, and consisting of several successive arches, across the Tyropœon valley to the High Town. On the north of the bridge, and between it and a junction wall which connected the wall of the High Town with the Temple, lay the Xyst or Gym-

¹ Bell. vi. 8, 1.

nasium; and on the south of the bridge, at the western end, was the tower erected by Simon against the incursions of John. The mounds of the allies rested on the Xyst and on the bridge itself, and were also over against the tower of Simon. The Palace of Herod Agrippa (distinct from the Palace of Herod the Great) was at the end of the bridge, and overlooked the Xyst, so that Agrippa with his forces was engaged in erecting a bank against his own palace.¹

Within the city it was evident that the end was drawing nigh. Simon and John, faithful to their oaths, maintained their equanimity, but the ranks of their followers showed from day to day a marked diminution. A main part of the forces of Simon consisted of a body of Idumeans who had originally attached themselves to John. The Idumeans, while they regarded Jerusalem as the metropolis of the Jewish stock to which they claimed affinity, had not the same warmth of feeling towards it that animated its genuine and native inhabitants. The valour and tact of Simon had hitherto retained them in allegiance, but now, aghast at the Gorgon features of approaching death, they entered upon a secret conspiracy to abandon so hopeless a cause and tender submission to the Romans. Five of the most influential amongst them were commissioned to negotiate, and they succeeded in opening a communication with the enemy's camp. Titus, notwithstanding his previous denunciations, was not indisposed to listen to their overtures; for, if the Idumeans could be detached from Simon, his remaining adherents would fall an easy prey. Simon, however, as watchful as he was brave, was made acquainted with the plan

¹ Bell. vi. 8, 1.

before it could be executed, and acted with his wonted energy. The five negotiators were seized and executed on the spot. The officers of the Idumeans were put under arrest and imprisoned; and the Idumeans themselves, though allowed to retain their arms, were not employed in manning the walls, or at any post where fidelity would be exposed to temptation.¹

The utmost circumspection was exercised by Simon and John to prevent desertion, and at night their followers who could be relied upon were wont to ensconce themselves amongst the ruins without the walls, to intercept fugitives and slay them on the spot. But, notwithstanding every precaution, defection still continued and increased. The only alternatives open to the besieged were to die of the famine within, or to hazard death without—first, from the insurgents who lay in ambush to intercept them; and, secondly, from the hands of the Romans. The latter danger, however, was daily diminishing; for the Romans, weary of so many executions, found it much easier and more profitable to sell the able-bodied as slaves, and send the refuse about their business to perish on the mountains. Such was the glut of the slave-market, that even the most eligible lots commanded little more than nominal prices. The unhappy citizens who could not effect their escape from the walls, staggered about the streets until they could stand no longer, and then sank down, with hollow cheeks and attenuated bodies, to wait for the release of death. At this time there was not a spot within the city that was not tainted by the presence of a putrefying corpse.²

The progress of the Roman banks was slow, for

¹ Bell. vi. 8, 2.

² Bell. vi. 8, 2.

materials were scarce, and piles and planks in abundance were necessary for giving consistency to the causeways on which the battering-rams were to be worked. At length, on the 1st of September, after eighteen days' incessant labour, the banks on the west against Herod's Palace were completed, and the engines of war brought to bear upon the western wall.¹ Feeble was the opposition offered, for, while the most valiant of the insurgents remained at their post, others fled, for greater safety, to the three towers, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne; and others, more alarmed still, hid themselves in the caverns. On the 2nd of September the battering-ram accomplished its work, and a long line of the western wall fell to the ground. General consternation, even before the Romans had mounted the breach, invaded the city. Simon and John were first for cutting their way out through the ranks of the enemy, or dying in the attempt; but when they looked around them, and saw the paucity of their followers, they felt the madness of such an experiment. Two alternatives remained—either to occupy the three great towers, and fight from them to the last, or, issuing through the southern gate, to try and force the wall of circumvallation. There was little time for reflection, for tidings came pouring in that the whole western wall was down—that the Romans had entered the city—that they were carrying all before them, and were searching for the insurgent leaders. Happily for the besiegers, but injudiciously for the besieged, Simon and John resolved on abandoning the towers, and throwing all their remaining force against the wall of circumvallation on the south. They rushed down to Siloam,

¹ Bell. vi. 8, 4.

and attempted to storm the wall. The besieged were for the moment the besiegers, but they had no engines of war, and were, besides, few in number, and enfeebled by famine. They would fain have scaled the wall, but the Romans ran together from all sides, and overmatched the insurgents in numbers, and drove them back in dismay. They were now like timid hares surrounded by the net of the hunter, and fled back to the city, and dispersed themselves in different directions.¹

The Romans, during the interim, had entered the breach, and mounted the wall in triumph, clapping their hands, and singing the pæan of victory. They then advanced to the three great towers, and found them deserted. Titus stood amazed at their strength and solidity, and exclaimed that God indeed was on their side, for by man alone these impenetrable masses could not have been taken.² The Romans next spread themselves through the streets, slaying all who came in their way, without distinction of age or sex, and sacking and burning the houses. They were however but little prepared for some of the sights of horror that now greeted them. They broke open mansions, for instance, and found them charnel-houses, full of putrefying corpses. In other houses were seen whole families and their domestics lying dead in the different apartments, the victims of the famine. All that day the butchery and depredation continued, and at night the flaming houses afforded a more appalling spectacle still, from the contrast of the surrounding darkness.³

The next day Titus issued a general order that only such as were found in arms should be slain, and that

¹ Bell. vi. 8, 4.

² Bell. vi. 9, 1.

³ Bell. vi. 8, 5.

all others should be taken prisoners ; but such an order was more easily published than executed, and the infuriate soldiery still continued the slaughter of all who could not be turned to profit as slaves. Such as were in the prime of life, and would fetch a price in the market, were shut up for the present within the charred walls of the Court of the Women, the more easterly court of the Inner Temple, and were placed under the surveillance of one of Titus's freedmen. No less than 11,000 of them are said to have there perished from want of food and air. Of the survivors some were selected to grace the triumphal procession at Rome, and of the remainder all under the age of seventeen were sold as slaves, and all above that age were, a part of them, distributed amongst the theatres of Syria, to fight as gladiators or with wild beasts, and the rest of them condemned for the remainder of their lives to the public works in Egypt.¹

No more victims for slaughter or plunder were visible above ground ; but the Romans were resolved not to leave their work incomplete, and applied themselves to the discovery of such as had buried themselves under ground in the holes and caverns.

Every house in Jerusalem had a cistern under it, and the whole city was underlaid with conduits, sewers, and secret passages, and in these dark recesses multitudes of miserable fugitives had sought a refuge from the storm.² To see the victors armed with spade and pickaxe, delving into the bowels of the earth, one would have supposed that they were seeking to unearth some noxious vermin rather than searching for their fellow-men. The mere thirst for blood could not have

¹ Bell. vi. 9, 2.

² Bell. vi. 9, 4.

furnished a sufficient stimulant, but to this was added the passion for gold. The wealth of Judæa had been collected into Jerusalem, and it was the prevalent belief that vast treasures had been carried off by those who escaped. The Romans had no plan of nether Jerusalem as they had of the streets above, and they prosecuted a rigorous search into these subterranean vaults. Some of them were filled with dead bodies; in others the dead and the living were mingled together promiscuously, and not a few even of the victors lost their lives in searching amongst the putrefying bodies. The fugitives that were found alive were put to death, for it was less trouble to kill at once than to take charge of them as prisoners.¹

All the population of Jerusalem had been either slain or made captive, and orders were now given that (with the exception of two or three memorials) the whole city should be razed to the ground, that every vestige of it might be obliterated from the face of the earth. The western wall of Herod's Palace, at the north-west corner of Sion, had attached to it extensive barracks; and, as Titus purposed to quarter one of his legions for a time at Jerusalem, it was thought prudent to leave this part standing for their accommodation. The three famous towers, also, of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, would show, from their immense strength, against what mighty obstacles the Romans had contended, and were therefore spared. But, with these exceptions, walls, palaces, and mansions were consigned to one universal ruin. The scant remnants of the Temple that still remained were utterly subverted, so that neither wall, nor cloister, nor altar, nor

¹ Bell. vi. 9, 4.

building of any kind, could any longer be distinguished.¹ So literally and signally was fulfilled the prediction of our Lord uttered thirty-seven years before, that of the Temple 'there should not be left one stone upon another that should not be thrown down.' The whole city was thus made one vast heap, and 'the joy of the whole earth' became a blasted wilderness. Thus ended the fifth and last act of that bloody tragedy, the Siege of Jerusalem.

What had become of Simon Bar-Gioras and John of Gischala, who had played so conspicuous a part in the defence of the city? When the last wall was captured, and the deluge of the Roman army rushed in, Simon and John were nowhere to be found. They were not amongst the living, and their bodies were not recognised amongst the dead. It was some days after the final capture that, as the Roman sentries paced backward and forward, and kept watch and ward, an emaciated figure, with haggard looks and dishevelled hair, rose from the ground, and proclaimed himself to be John of Gischala. He had lowered himself, with a stock of provisions, into one of the secret passages, and now from pressure of hunger was constrained to deliver himself up into the hands of the Romans. He was conducted into the presence of Titus, and ordered to be kept in chains for exhibition to the Roman public at the triumph of Titus.² Simon Bar-Gioras was still missing, and his fate was not known until many days, if not weeks, subsequently.

Titus now took upon himself the pleasing duty of recompensing his soldiers by the distribution of rewards. A high platform was erected in the middle of his camp

¹ Bell. vii. 1, 1.

² Bell. vi. 9, 4.

—not that within the third or outer wall, which was of comparatively small dimensions,¹ but that without the wall to the north of Psephinus, where Titus on first investing the city had pitched his tent with the 12th and 15th Legions. Titus ascended the lofty tribune, and the martial host were gathered around him. He thanked them for their steady obedience to orders and courage on the field, qualities which combined had brought about such glorious results. He admired and loved them for their loyal and gallant bearing, and, while all were meritorious, many, favoured by fortune, had entitled themselves to a special distinction. A list was then read aloud of such as had displayed extraordinary gallantry, and as the names were called over, Titus complimented the happy recipients upon their exploits in appropriate panegyric, and decorated them with costly badges. To some were presented golden coronets, to others golden necklaces, to others golden spears, to others silver ensigns, and all were advanced a step by way of promotion in the army. The spoils taken from the enemy, gold and silver and vestments and valuables of infinite variety, were distributed in profusion amongst the troops. Titus wished them all happiness, and, descending from the tribune, offered sacrifices to the gods for the brilliant success of his arms. Herds of oxen were slaughtered on the occasion, and all the troops were feasted. The banqueting was continued for three days, and then the army broke up. Titus, with the 5th and 15th Legions, took his departure for Cæsarea-on-sea. The 10th Legion, with a few auxiliary cohorts and some squadrons of horse, was left under the command of Terentius Rufus, to keep guard for a time over

¹ See ante, p. 34.

the ruins of the city. The 12th Legion, as the least meritorious from its former flight in the time of Cestius, was ordered for service to the banks of the Euphrates.¹

Shortly after the departure of Titus, an unexpected incident occurred at Jerusalem. The sentries were on guard as usual on the site of the Temple, when, at dead of night, a ghost-like figure, clad in white, emerged from the ground. The first impulse of the soldiers was to flee away in terror, but second thoughts reminded them that this spectral appearance must be some artifice of the enemy, and, resuming their courage, they drew near and interrogated their unearthly guest. He declined answering except to the commander-in-chief. A messenger was despatched to Terentius Rufus, and on his arrival the figure announced himself to be Simon Bar-Gioras. On the capture of the last stronghold he had descended, with a few attached followers and some stonemasons armed with the tools of their calling, into one of the subterranean recesses, and it was hoped that before the provisions which they took with them were exhausted, a passage might be excavated under ground beyond the cordon of the Roman sentinels. All went well so far as the ancient vaults extended, and the workmen then began to mine; but the rock was hard and the men enfeebled, and little progress had been made when the supplies failed. The alternative was either certain death by famine, or the chance of life by a return to the open air; and Simon, choosing the latter, reascended, guarding himself, however, from instant butchery by assuming the character of a spectre. As the head quarters of Simon had been in the tower of Phasaelus, it is likely

¹ Bell. vii. 1, 2.

that he had entered the conduit, which is still traceable for a considerable distance in an eastern direction towards the Temple, and must once have been connected with it. How else could Simon have buried himself in the High Town, and have reappeared on the other side of the Tyropœon, on the site of the Temple in the Low Town? Terentius Rufus put him in chains and sent him to Titus at Cæsarea, by whom he was forwarded, with John of Gischala, to Rome, to figure in the coming triumphal procession.¹

The reader must now transfer himself to Rome. At dawn on the day of triumph in the following year, the streets and steps of the temples and even the amphitheatres (for the procession was to pass through them) were thronged with people; and on every vacant space the platforms, which had been erected with rows of seats carried to a great height, were densely crowded with spectators. All the population of that vast metropolis was collected together, and formed, as it were, the banks of a river between which was to flow the procession all the way from the Porta Triumphalis, where it was to commence, to the Capitoline hill, at which it was to terminate. First came the senate and magistrates in their official robes; and then followed the spoils of war,—the vessels of gold and silver; the ornaments exquisitely wrought in ivory; the gorgeous purple tapestries embroidered with representations of animal life and landscapes; diamonds and other precious stones sparkling and glistening in coronals and all the other forms that the ingenuity of art could suggest; strange animals unknown to Italian skies, gaily decorated, and under the charge of keepers dressed in purple and gold. Then came a multitude of Jewish captives, and

¹ Bell. vii. 2, 2.

at their head Simon Bar-Gioras and John of Gischala, loaded with irons. How were the mighty fallen! Next followed models in wood, some of them three and four stories high, of the cities and towers captured in the war, and all of them glistening with gold and ivory and purple tapestries. The victorious progress of the Roman arms was represented by gigantic scenic paintings. Here was the enemy's country desolated by the ravages of the invader—there were the mortal strife and the foe put to the rout. Here were battering-rams playing against lofty towers—there were the Romans rushing up to the breach and carrying the fortress by storm. Here was the Temple of Jerusalem on fire, and there the general conflagration of the whole city. Next in order came the spoils on which the greatest value was placed—the golden table and golden candlestick and other sacred utensils taken from the Holy of Holies in the Temple at Jerusalem, and after them the Great Book of the Jewish Law used in the Temple service. Next advanced the objects of intensest attraction—Vespasian in triumphal robes, in a car drawn by four cream-coloured horses, followed by Titus also in triumphal robes and in a car of similar character. Last of all came the troops in martial array, with colours flying and bands playing, chanting their pæans of victory, *Io triumphe!*

Hour after hour was consuméd, as with slow and solemn pace the triumphal procession moved along from the *Porta Triumphalis*, in a tortuous course through the streets and theatres, and in front of the palaces and temples. At length it was seen ascending along the *Via Sacra*, and up the Forum, until at the foot of the Capitoline hill it came to a halt. At this part of the ceremony, the general of the vanquished army was to

led to the block. This painful preeminence was awarded to Simon Bar-Gioras, as the more prominent and energetic of the two chiefs. With a halter about his neck, and torn by scourges at every step, but with a haughty mien, unbroken even by this ignominy, he was led to the place of execution. The assembled multitude waited in breathless silence until the death-stroke should be announced. The signal was hoisted that Simon Bar-Gioras was no more, and one universal acclamation of triumph rose to the skies. The procession mounted slowly the Capitoline hill, and sacrifices were offered to the gods for this glorious termination of a long protracted war.¹

John of Gischala, more fruitful of artifice than Simon, but not perhaps less brave, was condemned to drag out the rest of his existence in perpetual imprisonment.

¹ Bell. vii. 5, 3, &c.

PART II



JOURNAL

OF

A VISIT TO JERUSALEM.

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WHEN the 'Sketch of Jerusalem' was written I had not seen the city, and in every criticism on my little work this was pronounced a mistake. I was, however, of opinion, and I still retain it, that from the numerous maps and plans of Jerusalem, and the views of it furnished partly by the pencil and more recently by photography, and from the accurate descriptions to be found in books of travel, a person, without moving from his studio in England, if armed with a fair amount of classical knowledge, may acquit himself with credit in the arena of topographical investigation. At the same time one who has personally inspected the ground has, no doubt, many advantages. He can form a more correct judgement as to distances, elevation and depression, and observes many little details too minute for the pen or pencil; and, what is more important still, he becomes acquainted with the latest local discoveries. Having applied myself to the sources of information within my reach in England, I resolved on making a pil-

grimage to the Holy Land, to prosecute my researches on the spot. The limited interval of time at my command would not allow a protracted visit, but much might be done in even a few days. An esteemed friend, Mr. Allcard, was willing to accompany me, and on August 26, 1862, we started from Dover viâ Calais; thence to Vienna, which we reached on August 31; thence by railway to Baziasch on the Danube, where we arrived on the morning of September 6; thence by boat to Czernavoda, where we took the rail to Kustanjee on the Black Sea, and thence by steamer to Constantinople, which we entered on September 9, and left on September 13. We cast anchor off Jaffa on September 26, about 6 A.M.

Jaffa stands on a conical hill overlooking the sea, and its little shallow port is formed by two ledges of rock which run out like the claws of a crab on each side, and leave between them a narrow entrance; so narrow indeed that in rough weather no boat can attempt the passage, and many a traveller on board a steamer has been carried on, against his will, to Alexandria or Beyrout. A little before our arrival a shark had thrust himself through the gangway into the haven, and, failing to find his way out, was killed amongst the shallows, to the great delight of half the population, who joined in the hunt.

We arrived on a fine morning, and the sea being tolerably smooth, we experienced no difficulty in landing; but no sooner had we set foot on shore than we were assailed by a host of touters and porters and dragomans. Every piece of our baggage was a prize for which three or four men struggled. Had my friend's trunk or my bag contained any fragile articles, they must have been broken by the jerks and snatches

and thumps on the ground to which they were subjected. The Custom-house was only a few yards off, and thither we proceeded at the head of a motley procession. My friend wished to avoid the trouble of opening his bag, and being unable to speak Arabic, held significantly the key in one hand and the bakshish in the other for the officer's choice ; but the bait, though tempting, was too publicly exposed, and, with wistful looks at the bakshish, he took the key. The legitimate mode, as we afterwards found, is to negotiate through the dragoman, but at present we had none. In the crowd there was a very decent-looking youth about eighteen, who spoke intelligible English, and was the son of Simeon Rosenthal, who keeps the hotel at Jerusalem for which we were bound ; we therefore selected him as our dragoman for the nonce, and our choice being made, the hubbub partially subsided.

The obstreperous way in which one is set upon by these harpies excites so much bile, that persons are apt to turn restiff and keep them all at arm's length without giving an answer ; but I believe, after all, the wisest way and most conducive to comfort is at the earliest moment to fix upon your dragoman and hotel, and then you are left in peace. We bargained with our youthful guide that we and our baggage should be transported to Jerusalem for 1*l.* apiece, which, considering that it was a two days' journey, was extremely reasonable. Meanwhile we climbed with our numerous porters to the Palestine Hotel, kept by Zampt, and were shown into a little arched room that overlooked the sea and was so pleasantly situate that I could very contentedly have made it my sojourn for several days instead of hours. After discharging, without satisfying, the pack of hungry wolves in the

share of porters which had followed us to the hotel, we sat down to a wretched breakfast of tough chops and ~~meagre coffee~~. we then visited the house of Simon the Tanner, at the south of the town, where was a well of ~~very water~~ from which, of course, St. Peter had ~~regained his converts~~. The little court on the west of the house looked down upon the sands, where quite an Oriental scene was enacting—a man *in puris naturalibus*, almost as swart as a negro, was washing a camel, which had been made to lie down to receive his ablution.

We started the same day, about 11 A.M., and on reaching the gate (for Jaffa is a walled town) we found it and the approaches so beset with camels, donkeys, and market-people, that we could scarcely thread our way. On emerging from this dense throng we paced along a royal road in point of breadth, very deep in sand, and lined on each side with cactus and pomegranates, bananas, and a most luxuriant vegetation of all descriptions. There was evidently no want of irrigation, from whatever source the water was obtained. In one place I observed machinery for raising it from a well. After about an hour the gardens ceased and the plain of Sharon spread itself into fields, which evidently had, earlier in the year, poured forth the most abundant crops of grain. There were no fences, and the eye wandered over the whole space, as far as the mountains about twelve miles off. We arrived at Ramlah about 2 P.M. Between Ramlah and Jerusalem no accommodation is to be found; either therefore we must stay the night at Ramlah and proceed the next day, or we must push on for Jerusalem, a journey reckoned commonly at nine hours, so that we should necessarily arrive very late, and so run the chance of

being refused admission at the gates. We adopted the former alternative, and the question was then debated where we should put up—at the convent, or at the private hostelry of a Mr. Kyatt. Our dragoman was well acquainted with Mr. Kyatt, and strongly recommended his house, and as he was brother of the English consul at Jaffa, whose son I had met and been much pleased with some years before, we suffered ourselves to be persuaded. We entered the courtyard, and delivering up our steeds, mounted a flight of steps to an elevated terrace, round which were ranged the various little arched rooms of the establishment, a sitting-room in which was a mean sofa, several bedrooms, the kitchen, scullery, &c. We had some difficulty in killing time for the rest of the day, and after a very poor repast for dinner, retired early to bed. I was afraid of leaving the window open, and the heat in my room was most oppressive. There were musquito curtains to the bed, but somehow they seemed only to have the property of keeping the musquitoes *in* instead of *out*. The fleas also were numerous and excessively active, and I had not a wink of sleep.

September 27, Saturday.—Called at 3 A.M. and sprang readily from my restless couch. At 4.30 A.M. we were in our saddles. From Ramlah to the foot of the mountains may be five or six miles, and as the air was cool and the road tolerably good (though gradually becoming less and less so), we covered the distance at a pretty smart pace. We had taken a cup of coffee and a crust of bread before starting, and intended breakfasting at the entrance of the pass, but on reaching the mountains, we found that our dragoman in his wisdom, or that we in ours, had neglected to send on our baggage, including the provisions, in

advance, so that either we must wait an hour for its arrival or push on without breakfasting. There was a little wooden shed, at which travellers ascending and descending usually stop a few minutes, and here we obtained a cup of what was called coffee, and then again set off upon a journey of some seven hours, upon an empty stomach, for Jerusalem. The road now became a mere track, the dry bed of a mountain torrent strewn with fragments of rock and large boulders, so that we could with difficulty pick our way. At one time we skirted the sides of precipices, at another we straggled over the broad backs of mountains. All was ascent, and the scenery more and more wild. At first the heights about us were interspersed with shrubs, and in the valleys were frequent bushes, but the vegetation became less and less, until the rocks were quite bare, and not only uncultivated but incapable of culture. Soon after leaving the plain, we passed by a village of miserable hovels, and later in the day we saw a city crowning a hill on our right in the distance, and about half-way between the plain of Sharon and Jerusalem we came to the little town of Amwas. Here I was very anxious to rest a little and procure some refreshment. We dismounted and stretched ourselves in the shade under a spreading tree by the roadside; but there was so much difficulty in procuring anything edible or potable, that, my companion being a little impatient, we gave it up in despair, and again lifted ourselves into the saddle.

A little farther on was a vineyard, with a wooden hut for vending the grapes to the wayfarers, and I made a most delicious banquet on such a quantity of the fruit, without caring for skins or stones, that I fully anticipated a memento of the indiscretion; but now, as

on other occasions, I found grapes not only a most refreshing, but a most wholesome, relief to hunger and thirst. I was surprised at the number of travellers that we met with upon the road—Jews, Turks, and Arabs, some on camels, some on horseback, and some with their bare brown hairy legs dangling down the sides of a diminutive donkey. The whole road from Jaffa to Jerusalem is perfectly safe, as little forts or guardhouses have been built at frequent intervals, to protect the traffic passing between the sea and the Holy City.

At length, after a weary ride, with an occasional walk by way of variety, across the mountains, we came in sight of Jerusalem. An enthusiast would here break into a rhapsody of religious fervour, but my feelings were cold and common-place, and I gazed on the rising minarets and towers of the city with more of curiosity than devotion. I had no difficulty in recognising the most remarkable objects, and felt myself already at home. The most prominent feature of all, however, was quite modern, and might well have been dispensed with, viz. the new convent and church built by the Russians, without the walls, on the NW. of the city. We passed the Jaffa Gate about noon, and put up at Simeon Rosenthal's hotel on Sion.

I fear my wanderings about Jerusalem will little interest the general reader, and without a few prefatory remarks, I doubt whether they will be very intelligible. The city stands on a mountain, which is bounded on the west by the valley of Hinnom, and on the east by the valley of Jehoshaphat, and ends at a point on the south, where the two valleys meet, a little below the fountain of Siloam. On the broad back of this wedge may be distinguished two other interior and subor-

dinate valleys, one commencing half-way down the western side of the city, at the Jaffa Gate, and running two thirds of the way across the wedge in an eastern direction, and then turning south and descending to the fountain of Siloam. This is the Tyropœon, or Cheesemakers' valley. The other valley, the Asmonean, starts from about the middle of the northern side of the city, and, running down in a south-eastern direction, falls into the Tyropœon where the latter begins to take a southern direction. It must not be supposed, however, that these two valleys are at all of the character of those on the exterior. They are mere shallow depressions, and in some places, from the accumulation of debris, can scarcely be traced, while the valleys of Hinnom and Jehoshaphat are ravines of tremendous depth.

Jerusalem within is intersected from west to east by a street running from the Jaffa Gate to the Haram ; the western portion, viz. from the Jaffa Gate to the Bazaars, being called David Street ; and the eastern portion, viz. from the Bazaars to the Haram, being called Temple Street. From north to south Jerusalem is also intersected by a long street, reaching from Damascus Gate on the north to the Sion Gate on the south ; and the northern part, viz. that between the Damascus Gate and David Street, may be called Damascus Street ; and the southern part, viz. that from David Street to Sion Gate, may be called Sion Street. The city is thus divided into four quarters, viz. the Christian quarter, between David Street and Damascus Street ; the Mahomedan, or Turkish quarter, between Damascus Street and Temple Street ; the Armenian quarter, between David Street and Sion Street, and the Jewish quarter, between Sion Street and Temple Street.

As you enter the Jaffa Gate, and look before you down David Street, there is on the right hand, or southward, first of all, the Castle of David, and next it, eastward, is an open 'Place,' used as a market every morning for the sale of vegetables and other country products.¹ If we turn into the 'Place' southward, we have on the left—first, the newly erected Bank of Mr. Berghem, at the corner of David Street; then the Palace of the English and Prussian Bishop; and then the property of the English Church, consisting of the incumbent's house, and adjoining it, southward, the English church itself, called Christchurch. The hotel of Simeon Rosenthal, at which we put up, lies just at the back or east of the Bishop's Palace, and is approached by a passage running between the palace and Mr. Berghem's bank. The windows of the hotel look northward, and from them we had in view, just opposite to us, a little way on the other side of David Street, the quadrangular area of the Pool of Hezekiah. This, in the time of Josephus, was known as the Almond Pool, and when Titus had taken the outer and inner walls (the third and second), the 10th and 15th Legions here cast up mounds against the Upper City, or Sion—viz. the 10th Legion within the second wall at the Pool itself, and the 15th without the second wall, at the distance of forty-five feet from the other, at the Tomb of the High-priest John.² The Jews did not bury within the walls; and therefore the quarter in which was the Tomb of the High-priest must at that time have been without the second wall, and, if so, we may conclude

¹ Here, perhaps, in early times, were sold the cheeses, from which the Tyropœon, or Cheesemakers' valley, which commences on this spot, derived its name.

² Bell. v. 6, 2.

that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which is near at hand, was also without the second wall; in other words, that the Holy Sepulchre, at the time of the Crucifixion, and before the third wall was built, was *without the city*.

I now proceed to give a journal of my sojourn in the Holy City—not from a notion that I can make any valuable contribution to the topography of the place; but, as Jerusalem is undergoing great changes, it may be useful to note down its present features for the benefit of future inquirers.

We indulged our curiosity for some time in distinguishing from the windows of the hotel the most prominent objects of the city on the north, and then bethought ourselves of breakfast. We had been in the saddle, and that a Syrian saddle, seven or eight hours along a miserable road, and without any refreshment except a cup of coffee and some grapes by the way, and we felt the necessity of recruiting our strength. After our repast and a long rest we strolled out into the 'Place,' and took a survey externally of the Citadel or Castle of David. Here are three large towers—one directly south of the Jaffa Gate, another a little way to the east of the other, and overlooking the 'Place,' and a third, also overlooking the 'Place,' but more to the south. The Citadel, unquestionably, occupies the site of Herod's Palace; and the gardens southward (now the gardens of the Armenian convent) are those which once belonged to the palace. To fortify the most accessible part on the north, Herod, we are told, erected three large towers, called Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne; and as I gazed on the three towers of the Castle of David, I could not avoid the conclusion that they, at least, stood on the sites of Herod's

three famous bulwarks. It is no doubt a commonly received opinion, that Hippius, Phasaelus, and Mariamne lay at considerable distances from each other; but Josephus nowhere asserts or implies this. On the contrary, he states that they all stood upon the λόφος or crest of Sion, which can be none other than the rocky eminence on which is the Castle of David. Hippius was the most western tower, and from it branched off the third or outer wall of Agrippa, and must, therefore, be represented by the present tower next the Jaffa Gate, on the south. Phasaelus was the middle tower, and is the venerable pile at the north-east corner of the Castle, and now improperly called Hippius. Mariamne was more to the south, and must have stood where the third great tower of the Castle is now seen. All these towers were in the first wall, which thus made a bend round the crest southward before it struck off eastward.

As I looked for the first time at the three existing towers, I was half disposed to think that I had before me, in the lower rows of large bevelled stones, the veritable remains of all the three towers, but repeated examinations obliged me to draw a distinction. In the middle tower, miscalled Hippius, the stones are much larger, and by the compact manner in which they are fitted together show that they are in situ, hewn for the purpose, and not old materials put together in a patchwork. Here, then, we have the veritable ancient Phasaelus. The dimensions as to the circumference agree pretty well with those of Josephus, and it is solid to a great height, as the historian describes it. This was the tower in which, during the siege by Titus, Simon Bar-Gioras, who had possession of the Upper Town, fixed his head quarters. Here he held his

levees, and hence directed the sallies upon the Roman camp. The stones of the other two towers are much smaller, and not so well joined, and the structures are not solid at the base. We must conclude, therefore, that, although they mark the positions of Hippicus and Mariamne, they are not the edifices themselves, but rebuilt from the old materials.

A person cannot pass many days in Jerusalem and pay the least attention to the antiquities of the place, without observing a distinction between the different kinds of bevel in the ancient stones found about the city. The reader is aware that by bevel is meant a furrow or notch cut square along the outer edge of the stone so as to present the appearance of paneling. In one kind of bevel the channel is very shallow, and the central surface of the stone is carefully smoothed, and has perhaps been polished. In a second kind the bevel is much deeper, and the surface of the stone, though hewn, has not been smoothed. In a third kind the bevel is generally deeper still, and the face of the stone has been left in a rough state. An instance of the first kind appears in the vast stones at the south-west, south-east, and north-east corners of the Haram. The bevel of Phasaelus, miscalled Hippicus, is of the second kind. Examples of the third will be found in the Mekhimeh or Town Hall. We know that Phasaelus was built by Herod, and assuming it to be a fair specimen of the style of his masonry, we may conclude that the vast stones at the corners of the Haram are of a different and more remote era. They are generally admitted to be the oldest remains in Jerusalem, and must be referred to Solomon, who alone of the Jewish kings had the means of executing so grand a work. They are, certainly, the stones referred to by Josephus

as those laid down by Solomon; and so vast in their proportions, and so firmly cramped together, as to be 'immovable for all time.' The bevel was probably first introduced at Jerusalem by Solomon from Tyre. Bevelled stones of precisely the same character are seen at Tyre,¹ and it is certain that Solomon in his magnificent works called in the skill of Tyrian artisans.

28th Sept., Sunday.—Rose at six, and visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which lies nearly due north from the hotel, about half-way between it and the northern wall. Divine service was going on with a good deal of parade, and little corresponding to the simplicity of the Gospel. At the west end of the church is the rotunda, and in the centre of it, quite isolated, stands the little chapel, 20 ft. long by 10 wide, in which is contained the Holy Sepulchre. The chapel is entered from the east end. There is first a small antechamber, in which is seen the identical stone rolled away from the mouth of the sepulchre by the angel! then follows (westward) a narrow door with a pointed arch, so low that you must stoop to pass it. This leads to a small chamber, on the right of which is the marble slab raised two or three feet above the floor, and cracked across the middle, which is said to cover the tomb. The cell is so small that only three, or at most four, persons can be present at once, and, when we approached, the cell was occupied by several monks kneeling at the tomb with little crucifixes spread upon it before them, no doubt to give them consecration. When our turn came, we crouched down and passed into the cell, and

¹ See a representation of one in 'The Lands and the Book,' p. 179.

knelt at the tomb. The cell was highly ornamented with chaplets and candles, and the whole cased with marble. The living rock was nowhere to be seen, either within or without. I believe, and indeed have no doubt, that the spot marks the place where the body of our Lord was laid. All the historical notices and a uniform tradition here agree; but if any part of the original sepulchre remain, it is not visible to the eye.

We walked to another part of the church, and mounted about a dozen stone steps to Calvary, and at the top of the stairs we were shown the hole in which the cross had been planted, and conveniently close to it, at the distance of a yard or so, was the rock which had been rent by the earthquake. There was a cleft into which a person might thrust his open hand. I was informed by one of the highest authorities in Jerusalem that the rock was *granite*, and if so it was probably imported from Egypt, as there is no granite in Judæa. Another gentleman told me that he had viewed the rock from below (for there are chapels under Calvary), and that the under part was *limestone*. If so, the marvel is increased, viz. that a stratum of granite should overlies a stratum of limestone. I believe, as I have seen it asserted, that there is here no monticule naturally, but that Calvary has been artificially constructed to meet the requirements of pilgrims. Where there is demand there will soon be a supply. In the middle of the nave of the church is a sort of pillar like a low sun-dial, said to be the navel or centre of the earth, and numerous pilgrims came up and kissed it,—for what reason they know best. In one of the chapels on the north of the church was a long pole in the corner, which the pilgrims devoutly thrust into a hole in the wall, and

then carried the nearest end of it to their lips. The farthest end was *supposed* to have touched the rock to which Christ is *supposed* to have been tied when he was scourged. As the facts are not mentioned in Scripture, the monks, I presume, rely on tradition, the mother of invention.

From the Church of the Holy Sepulchre we threaded our way through intricate streets to the Damascus Gate. This stood in the ancient third or outer wall, and, if so, it was the scene of the two following incidents. As Titus was coming down the Great North Road, and turning off to the right towards the tower Psephinus, at the north-west corner of the city, the Jews made a sally at the Women's Towers by the gate which faced the Tombs of Helena, and intercepted and broke the body-guard of Titus, so that with the greatest difficulty he cut his way through and regained his camp.¹ On another occasion, the Jews made a sally from the same Women's Towers, and chased the Romans all the way to the Tombs of Helena.² This gate, flanked by two towers, called the Women's Towers, and leading to the Tombs of Helena, now called the Tombs of the Kings, can be no other than the present Damascus Gate, which opens upon the Great North Road. I now wished to ascertain whether at the Damascus Gate traces were still to be seen of the flanking Women's Towers. On the east side of the gate the foundations of the old tower were visible at once, though much obstructed by rubbish; but without a good deal of clambering and defilement I could not examine them in detail, and was the less anxious to do so, as Robinson has given us a very minute description of them,³ and a view of them is

¹ Bell. v. 2, 2.

² Rob. vol. i. p. 313.

³ Bell. v. 3, 3.

furnished by Bartlett.¹ I felt a strong desire to make the necessary exploration on the west, but at this time was disappointed, as the western side of the gate was only accessible through a door which was closed ; but on another day, as will be seen in the sequel, I was more fortunate.

We mounted the wall a little to the west of the Damascus Gate, and walked along it to the north-west corner, where we descended and examined the well-known ruin of Kalah el Jalûd (the Giant's Castle), or Tancred's Tower. We had no difficulty in discovering the four or five courses of large ancient bevelled stones spoken of by Robinson and others, which are in situ and run diagonally into the south-west corner of the ruinous pile. As you stand at a little distance from the west side, it is remarkable that the western face of this mass of masonry, which is composed of rubble, lies in regular courses symmetrical with the four or five courses of ancient bevelled stones, as if originally the layers of bevelled stones had been continued along the western side, but had been stripped off. On the eastern side of the tower were two entrances, one open, but low and dark, so that no observation could be made without lights, and the other closed by a door which was locked. A little to the north-east of Kalah el Jalûd was a separate and independent mass of ruins with chambers underneath, but I could not detect in them any traces of Jewish masonry, or any antiquity beyond the time of the Crusaders.

At ten o'clock was the English service at Christ-church, on Mount Sion. I attended, and found a congregation of some thirty or forty persons, all apparently

¹ Jerusalem revisited, p. 188.

of a respectable but inferior class. The building is of stone, and in good architectural taste. Over the altar were the Lord's Prayer and Creed and Ten Commandments in Hebrew, and every morning the English service was, as I understood, performed in Hebrew. To be worshipping on Mount Sion inspired one with very solemn thoughts, more particularly as I could not help calling to mind the scenes which had formerly been enacted on this spot. On the site of the citadel, called David's Castle, stood Herod's Palace, and on the expulsion of his son Archelaus it became the Prætorium or residence of the Roman Procurator. In A.D. 33, Pontius Pilate and his wife were here lodged, when, on the fatal morning of the Crucifixion, the chief priests and elders and other members of the Sanhedrim, with Jesus bound as a prisoner, roused Pilate from his slumbers, and clamoured for the execution of the criminal. The house of Pilate is *traditionally* placed at the north-west corner of the Haram, and the Via Dolorosa is the road from it to the Holy Sepulchre ; but all this is the invention of the dark ages. There may have been barracks in that quarter, but to locate the residence of Pilate there, and not in the palace where the other Procurators lived, is the height of absurdity. David's Castle was unquestionably the residence of Pilate, and in front of it, where Christ-church now stands, must Pilate (that the Jews might not defile themselves by entering the Prætorium) have come forth and so often have expostulated against their unreasonable clamour. Here must Pilate at last have passed sentence on Jesus and delivered him up to be crucified, and hence must our Lord have been led through the Gate Gennath, or Garden Gate, close by, to the place of execution, now occupied by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and which at that time lay without

the walls. The present Via Dolorosa was got up during the time of the Crusaders, for there is no earlier allusion to it.¹ Indeed tradition had previously placed the Via Dolorosa on Mount Sion.

Mr. Barclay, the incumbent, and Mr. Bailey, a missionary clergyman, officiated in the service, and standing as I did on Mount Sion, I could not but be struck by the appropriateness and impressive character of some of the passages in the Psalms for the day (28th Sept.): 'We will go into his tabernacle, and fall low on our knees before his footstool: for the Lord *hath chosen Sion* to be an habitation for himself: he hath longed for her.' (Ps. cxxxii. 7 and 14.) 'Lift up your hands in the sanctuary, and praise the Lord. The Lord that made heaven and earth give thee blessing *out of Sion!*' (Ps. cxxxiv. 3 and 4.) 'Behold how good and joyful a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity. It is like the precious ointment upon the head that ran down unto the beard, even unto Aaron's beard, and went down to the skirts of his clothing, like as the dew of Hermon which fell upon *the hill of Sion.*' (Ps. cxxxiii.)

We had hired a dragoman at 4s. a day, and after luncheon we directed him to take us to the old crown of an arch projecting a little above ground, and which in the opinion of Williams ("Holy City") was the Gate Gennath of Josephus. I explained that it must lie somewhere a little to the south of the hotel, and he conducted us to quite a modern arch near the English Hospital, in which, however, could be traced a more ancient arch; but neither of them of larger dimensions than required for an ordinary doorway. This was a

¹ Rob. vol. iii. p. 170.

failure, but I afterwards stumbled upon the real thing by accident. We next wandered to the Armenian convent, and examined their church, or chapel, which was highly ornamented. The walls were covered with paintings from Scripture, and, as I did not expect to meet with such in Jerusalem, I enquired what ancient master had executed them, when the dragoman pointed to a friar crouched in the corner of the chapel, who had painted the whole. The bell of the convent was peculiar, and the principle of it should be studied by the founder of Big Ben. A plank about fifteen feet long was suspended from the roof of the cloisters by a rope at each end, and by the side of the plank was slung an iron bar of equal length and slightly curved. Two men, with wooden hammers, struck the plank and iron at the same time, and brought out a deadly-lively sound, which had the desired effect of driving the monks into the chapel and ourselves into the street. We tried to procure admission into the convent gardens, which were interesting, as having anciently belonged to Herod's Palace, but the door was closed, and the key at the time was not to be had. We saw them afterwards very well from the top of Hippicus, and they looked like the gardens of a house which had been twenty years in Chancery.

Next, to the Sion Gate in the southern wall. Within the city, on the east side of the gate, and a few yards from it, were the hovels of the poor lepers. The huts, which were of rude stone, with flat roofs formed by rafters and reeds, were not built against the wall of the city, but at a little distance from it, so as to leave between the huts and the wall a narrow open area by way of courtyard. The two ends of the area were fenced in; and I understood that on Sundays, when

more people are abroad, the lepers are shut up, but that on other days some of them at least are allowed to roam. I afterwards saw some plying for charity near the Jaffa Gate, on the road to Bethany; and on another occasion I observed a leper within the city, near St. Stephen's Gate. The disorder is said not to be either contagious or infectious. Our dragoman asserted that a French physician, who had minutely examined the lepers at Jerusalem, had died from the effects; but Dr. Chaplin, the English physician, assured me, on the contrary, that the death had been caused by fever, and was quite disconnected from leprosy. I have somewhere read the remark that the symptom so much dwelt upon in Scripture, the whiteness of the skin, is not observable in the lepers of the present day. 'And he (Gehazi) went out from his presence a leper white as snow.' (2 Kings v. 27.) But on looking over the barrier at the lepers by the Sion Gate we distinctly noticed on the arm of one a long white streak. The disease appears to attack chiefly the extremities, as most of those we saw had lost some of their fingers. The face also suffers, and renders the sight of them very painful. We threw them a piece of money, and made our escape through the Sion Gate.

We looked for the remains of the first wall on the south of Sion, and had no difficulty in tracing along the western edge of Sion the low ridge referred to by Robinson as indicating probably the course of the first wall. At the English school, which is just opposite the southern end of Birket Sultan, there is an abrupt fall of the ground in a south-east direction, and we concluded that the wall must have run along this bank. Indeed there can be no doubt of it, as in laying the foundations for the school 'some fragments of the wall

itself were still to be seen upon the rock.'¹ The sketch in Tobler's 'Dritte Wand,' p. 339, shows the course of the wall at this point; and, judging from its direction, we may conclude that it descended much lower down Sion than is commonly supposed, and reached even to the precipitous rock that is due west of and faces the fountain of Siloam. On or near the site of the English school must have stood anciently the Dung Gate of Nehemiah² and the Essene Gate of Josephus.³

We paid a bakshish for the liberty of looking at the outside walls which contain the so-called Tomb of David, and for taking a peep through the grating into a room on the ground-floor, under which was said to be a vault containing the tomb. Having gratified our curiosity in this respect (which did not take long), we traversed backwards and forwards over Sion to find if possible some clue to the course of the southern wall, but could meet with nothing. We passed round the south-east corner of the wall of Sion, and came to the present Dung Gate; and, greatly to my surprise, if we had not known that we were crossing the valley of the Tyropæon, we should not have discovered it. From Sion to the Dung Gate is a continual slope eastward, the dip of the valley in this part not being appreciable. From the Damascus Gate to the Haram the hollow is very perceptible, but from the Haram for some distance without the wall the Tyropæon valley (probably from the accumulation of rubbish) almost escapes notice. From the Dung Gate we walked eastward along the foot of the southern wall, which shuts in the gardens of El Aksa. It was on this rectangular space that the Palace of Solomon was built; and I was

¹ Rob. vol. iii. p. 179. ² Nehem. iii. 14. ³ Bell. v. 4, 2.

pleased to see that while the upper parts of the wall are of modern masonry, the lower courses consist of ancient bevelled stones in situ. The height of the wall on the interior is very insignificant, but on the exterior it attains an altitude of fifty feet,¹ so that the rock has been scarped and faced with masonry, and the difficulty of getting at the stones from the interior may have been the cause of their preservation. The bevel of the stones is deeper than that of the finest pieces in the walls of the Haram, and the face of the stones has not been so carefully smoothed.

Next, to the south-east corner of the Haram : and, from the number of prints and drawings which I had seen of this part, the actual view was nothing more than the realisation of what I had carried in the mind's eye. Some of these ponderous masses are very hard, so that we could not make any impression upon them ; but others were so soft that we could detach a piece without the least effort. It was plain that the eastern wall, in coming from the north, had here turned westward, and that no wall had or could have been continued southward. There was not only the usual bevel about the stones on the south side of the corner, but a careful finish about them, which forced the conclusion that no wall had ever abutted against them from the south. If this be so, the theory that the Temple cloisters reached to this corner is untenable, for Josephus tells us that the first wall ran up from Siloam to the *eastern* cloister, and if the eastern cloister of the Temple was in the line of the present eastern wall of the Haram, the first wall must have joined on to the south-east corner of the Haram, which it certainly did not. We observed,

¹ Rob. vol. i. pp. 238, 285.

high up on the wall on the eastern side, traces of a small door or window, and here and there were square holes like mortises in the stones, no part apparently of the original work, but made in a subsequent age to support some temporary scaffolding, or perhaps a flight of steps. The ancient stones were evidently not uniform, but the bevel of some was deeper than that of others, and some were more carefully hewn than others. This may, perhaps, be accounted for on the supposition that as the stones were originally of different degrees of hardness and durability, repairs from time to time were required, and the same skill was not always available, or the fashion changed. The most ancient stones display the finest workmanship, and are attributable to the Tyrian artisans employed by Solomon. The parts of inferior workmanship may be assigned to the native handicraftsmen of a subsequent age. We traversed the whole length of the eastern wall, passing the Golden Gate and the ancient tower at the northern end by the Pool of Bethesda. On a view of the eastern wall of the Haram, either close at hand or from the foot of Mount Olivet, the conviction is forced upon the spectator that the whole is the result of one uniform design.

The tower at the north-east corner, and that at the south-east corner, are of the same immense yet finely bevelled stones, and correspond in all respects. If, as I suppose, the south-east corner be the work of Solomon, so likewise is the north-eastern tower. We may also draw the inference that as this ancient masonry ends at the northern tower, and then bends westward to the south-east corner of the Pool of Bethesda, this vast fosse must have been the protection of the platform, now called the Haram, on the north, and, if so, must also have been constructed at the same time with the external wall,

and have proceeded from Solomon. We know that the Pool was not the work of Herod, as Strabo refers to it in the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey. The ancient masonry ends at this northern tower, and evidently never extended further northward, but turned westward. The newly broached theory, that the eastern wall of the Haram was merely a continuation of Agrippa's third wall coming down from the north, rests on no foundation. You have only to look at the tower to see that it extended no further, and that no wall from the north was ever attached to it.

On coming to St. Stephen's Gate we observed an escutcheon in basso-relievo. It was said to be the coat of arms of Godfrey of Bouillon. We looked in passing at the Pool of Bethesda on our left, and here, let me ask, why may not this be the veritable Bethesda? The pool is mentioned by John as standing by the Sheep Gate,¹ which was certainly in this quarter at the north of the Temple Platform,² and the five porches may either have stood at the eastern end, where now are two vaults running out side by side westward (and the three others may have perished), or the five porches may have stood at the western end of the southern side, where now are the remains of the five or six Saracenic arches, which appear anciently to have communicated with the Temple area above. It will be remembered that the miracle was wrought as our Lord was leaving the Temple, and leaving it by the Sheep Gate.

We passed along the Via Dolorosa, and on the way the guide pointed out to us a stone in the wall with a deep indentation, caused by the leaning of our Lord against it when he sunk under the weight of the cross!

¹ John v. 2.

² Nehem. iii. 1, 32.

The wall is not five hundred years old, and the present surface of the ground is from 20 to 40 feet above the ancient level ; but what of that ? A little farther on we were shown the stone on which Lazarus sat when the dogs licked his sores. Lazarus was a fictitious personage, but what does a dragoman know of the distinction between fact and fable ? A little farther on was a stone in the wall with a hollow cut in it, something like a mouth. This is the stone referred to by our Lord : ‘ I tell you that if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out.’¹ The stone did *not* cry out, but what of that ? It is the stone that *would* have cried out.

We adjourned to our hotel to join the table-d’hôte. My friend took the head of the table, and I sat on his right hand. This may be thought presumption, but as there were no other guests we may be excused.

29th Sept., Monday.—Rose at six, and sallied out of the Jaffa Gate in quest of the Pool Mamilla, said to be so called after some deceased saint, for, as Maundrell remarks, ‘ there are amongst the Turks more dead saints than living ones.’ It lies to the north-west of the Jaffa Gate, at the head of the valley of Hinnom, and is at the highest elevation of all the pools in or about Jerusalem. It was anciently called the Upper Pool, and by Josephus the Dragon or Serpent Pool, and from it ran a conduit to the Jaffa Gate, where it fed the Dragon or Serpent fountain, and thence passed into the Pool of Hezekiah. It was ‘ at the end of the *conduit* of the *Upper Pool* in the Highway of the Fuller’s field’ (Is. vii. 3), that Isaiah was commanded to meet Ahaz and deliver the message of God to him ; and it was ‘ by the *conduit* of the

¹ Luke xix. 24.

Upper Pool, in the highway of the Fuller's field' (Is. xxxvi. 2), that Rabshakeh, at the head of the Assyrian host, stood to hold a parley with the envoys of Hezekiah. And it was 'by the gate of the valley (of Hinnom), even before the Dragon fountain' (mistranslated the Dragon well, Nehem. ii. 13), that Nehemiah went out by night to view the state of the ruined walls before commencing their reconstruction.

We had taken our bearings so accurately that, though we could not see the pool from the Jaffa Gate, we fell in by the way with the ancient conduit leading from it to the gate. It was just under the surface, and very much broken and choked with stones; but I suppose that in the rainy season it is cleared out, and a free passage effected. We followed the direction of the conduit, and soon came upon the pool itself. It was quite dry, with a flight of steps at each corner, and the conduit led from the middle of the eastern side. The Tomb of Herod (Agrippa), spoken of by Josephus as by the Serpent Pool, must have stood in this neighbourhood, but we looked in vain for any trace of it. However, the pool is to this day environed by a cemetery, so that this quarter has been a burial place for near two thousand years.

We walked next to the north-west corner of the city. In writing my sketch of Jerusalem, I had long hesitated whether to draw Agrippa's wall in the line of the present wall, or to carry it beyond the present wall to the summit of the rise on the north-west, and then down again to the existing wall a little west of the Damascus Gate. The accounts of travellers were very conflicting, some asserting that the third wall could be traced to the crown of the hill, and others insisting as strenuously that the only remains to be seen were

those of villas and other suburban edifices. Relying chiefly on the opinions of Robinson, I had eventually adopted the theory of a prolongation of the present wall to the crown of the hill and down again. In this respect I have to recant. On a personal inspection of the north-west angle, I was at once satisfied that Agrippa's wall at the north-west corner, as well as at the north-east corner (about the latter I had never doubted), ran precisely in the course of the present wall. At the north-west corner, for instance, there is a broad and deep fosse cut in the solid rock, both on the west and on the north sides,—a work of great magnitude, and the only defence of the kind to be found on the whole hill. Where, if not here, could the wall of Agrippa have passed? As for the supposed remains of walls leading from the north-west corner to the crown of the hill, I looked about me very anxiously, and could find none. Between the corner and the culminating point the ground had been recently excavated, first by Mr. Berghem, the banker, for a mansion, and then by the Russians for the erection of a convent and church and other extensive buildings; but so far from any old foundations being found, it is a fact of which I was repeatedly assured, by those whose qualifications for information could not be doubted, that neither Mr. Berghem nor the Russians, though they had broken up the very soil over which Agrippa's wall was supposed to have run, had been able to detect the least sign of it.¹ Mr. Berghem,

¹ Mr. Schick, the experienced architect at Jerusalem, informed me that 'Just on the top of the hill the Russians on their premises found a water-channel, which was explored by Pierotti as far as the north-west corner of the city wall. The question is, whence was the water brought? From the Sheikh's tomb, or even further?' Does this tend to throw any light on the statement in 2 Chron.

indeed, had turned up a few bevelled stones, but they were of small size and accompanied with shafts of columns, which showed that some public building had stood there, and the nature of it was attested by one of the stones which I saw myself, and on which was portrayed, in colours, the physiognomy of the Virgin Mary or some saint, with a glory round the head; from which it is evident that the building in question had been a church or chapel erected in the time of the Crusaders, perhaps on the site of Tancred's camp, which was on this spot, as a thank-offering for the capture of the city. I believe the prevailing opinion of the residents in Jerusalem to be, that the ancient city did not extend on the north beyond the present walls. Such at least is the conclusion at which I arrived myself. The description of Josephus would lead us to expect much larger dimensions; but his history, from the undue importance with which he invests every subject by a minute description of details, is calculated to mislead. As for the population ascribed by Josephus to Jerusalem, it cannot on any supposition be made probable, or even possible. They must have stood on each other's heads, or have inhabited castles in the air.

From the Jaffa Gate to the north-west corner of the city, where we were now standing, the valley of Hinnom recedes westward, and the level space between the western wall and the valley increases in the same ratio, so that the protection afforded by the valley becomes here less and less. Nor is there at present any fosse traceable on this side. This, therefore, was

xxxii. 30, that Hezekiah 'also stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David?'

the most exposed portion of the third wall, which accounts for the tactics of Titus, who, at the very commencement of the siege, threw up three mounds against this part, as the most assailable.¹

Next to the exterior of the Damascus Gate, where I looked for the ponderous stone referred to by Tobler² as lying in a south-east and north-west direction, and which I thought might indicate the line of some wall. It was visible at once on the east of the gate on the outside, but plainly not in situ, but dismounted from the adjoining wall. The present Damascus Gate is recessed a little southward from the straight line of the flanking towers, and is, to some extent at least, an innovation upon the old form, for in front of the gate, and exactly in a line with the northern face of the eastern tower, are two ancient bevelled stones of considerable magnitude, which were evidently in situ, and are the foundation of the original wall. One of the stones was four paces long. They are not very observable at first sight, but, once detected, they leave no doubt of their real character.

After breakfast we strolled down David Street and Temple Street, namely, from the Jaffa Gate eastward in the direction of the Haram. The descent at first is very steep, and the stones so well polished that you can with difficulty maintain the perpendicular. The first street on the right hand is ascended by twelve steps, and the first two or three lanes or streets on the left have a perceptible rise, so that even at the present day there is a decided valley here if we regard the ascent on the south, and something of a valley even as regards the north. This anciently was the commence-

¹ Bell. v. 6, 2; v. 7, 2.

² Tobler's Topog. vol. i. p. 57.

ment of the Tyropœon valley, which ran along the northern foot of the High Town, now called Sion, and then deflected to Siloam. The depth of it opposite the Pool of Hezekiah must have been very considerable, for while the pool is excavated out of the rock, the débris in David Street reaches down from thirty to sixty feet.

We fought our way against man and beast down Temple Street, and then through a labyrinth of passages till we came into the open court, where was the Wailing place. Here a most affecting scene presented itself. There were two Jewesses wailing, with their heads half buried in the gaping crevices of the gigantic stones of the Haram, and seated over against them, at the foot of the opposite wall of the narrow court, were two Jews, with hollow cheeks and pallid faces, reading the Scriptures. I felt myself an intruder in the place of mourning, and moved about as silently as if I were in a church; but the women heeded me not, and the men merely looked up and were again bent upon the sacred page. I could fancy that they were poring over the promise that Jehovah would not for ever desert his chosen people, but when the time arrived would restore the kingdom to Israel. With as little disturbance to the mourners as possible, we scanned the features of this relic of the foundations of the ancient Temple. The stones were all of vast size, and finely smoothed. The bevel was shallow, as elsewhere in the undoubted remains of the original wall. Some of the stones are very much disintegrated, while others are quite fresh. Here and there are hollows at the corners, and higher up are square holes like mortices. These may have been for the support of some external building, as of a flight of stairs, or, which is more probable, the wall

round the High Town may here have crossed the Tyropœon and joined on, as Josephus describes it, to the western cloister of the Temple. The line of wall at the Wailing place I take to be the *Lapis pertusus* of the Bordeaux Pilgrim. The singular number (*lapis pertusus*) may well, in such a case, stand for the plural, or at that time (A.D. 333) some one of the stones may have been singled out for the unction to which the pilgrim alludes. The word *pertusus* may be accounted for by the abrasion of the stones from the beating of the mourners in their frantic grief. I cannot think, as some do, that the *Lapis pertusus* is the Sukrah in the Mosque of Omar. The living *rock*, which there rises from the ground, cannot be properly called a *stone*, and neither the draw-well at the top, nor the broad entrance at the south-east corner to the cave below, fulfils the idea of *pertusus*. Eusebius also, the contemporary of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, tells us expressly that the Jews were at that time prohibited from entering the sacred precincts of their Temple, and were obliged to indulge their grief (as they do at the present day) standing about the environs of the enclosure.¹ We made a circuit round some buildings to the south, and came again to the eastern wall of the Haram at the south-west corner. Here we contemplated for some time the famous projecting stones, apparently forced forward by internal pressure, but really the butt end or base of an immense bridge. This, no doubt, is the bridge spoken of by Josephus as leading from the south-west corner of the Temple over the Xyst, and as the Temple

¹ εἰς ἔτι καὶ σήμερον ἀμφὶ μὲν τοὺς ὄρους καὶ κύκλῳ παριόντες πρόβῳθεν ἵστανται, μηδ' ἐξ ἀπόπτου τὸ πάλαι νενομισμένον αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν ἔδαφος θεάσασθαι καταξιούμενοι.—Euseb. *Comment. in Ps. lvi. p. 267.*

occupied a square of six hundred feet, we have only to measure that length along the western and southern walls from the south-western corner of the Haram, and we have the two sides of the Temple. From the account of Josephus, I had doubted whether the bridge conducted only to the Xyst, at the foot of the High Town, or to the High Town itself; but on inspecting the ground I was satisfied, from the span of the arch and the lowness of the hill opposite, that the bridge reached across the ravine to the High Town. Indeed it could not have stopped short of it, as all the intervening space is much below what must have been the upper level of the bridge. The Xyst was the gymnasium of Jerusalem, and identical perhaps with the stadium, occasionally used for public assemblies.¹ It was ornamented with public walks and avenues. We could not expect to find any monumental traces of it, but the level area still remains just under Sion opposite the Haram. It is remarkable for how many hundreds, if not thousands of years, certain localities retain their original character. Here, two thousand years ago, lay the long rectangular space devoted to public sports and exercises, and here to this day the same site is seen level and unoccupied, and capable, with little expense of resuming its original use. The same remark applies to the gardens of Herod, which are now the gardens of the Armenian convent. From *à priori* reasoning one would have supposed it impossible that such situations should not have been covered with buildings, and yet, from the operation of unknown causes, the stamp originally impressed upon them still continues. At the south-west corner of the Haram the stones are very

¹ Bell. ii. 9, 3.

large and beautifully wrought ; one of them, indeed, exceeded in its dimensions any that came under our observation. It was literally the chief corner-stone, or rather had been, for it was broken in two about the middle.

I mounted on the low stone wall which runs out westward from the corner, and looked down upon the gardens of El Aksa, at the south of the Haram. Here anciently stood the palace of Solomon, and everything harmonised with this hypothesis. Naturally, there must have been a pretty sharp descent of the hill in this part, but the rectangular space, now occupied as a garden, has been artificially levelled by an embankment, supported by a massive wall on the south. The only inclination apparent to the eye is a fall of a few feet toward the east. Between this garden and Sion runs the depression of the Tyropœon valley. From the foot of Sion eastward there is a gradual slight descent westward, but without any decided dip.

The Dung Gate, which is generally closed, happened to be open, and we passed through it and made our way towards Siloam. I kept a sharp look-out by the way for indications of the first wall round the High Town, now called Sion : escarpments of the rock were visible only in one or two places on the left, and these were most likely for private buildings. The Tyropœon valley does not distinctly show itself till about half-way down to Siloam, and then becomes deeper and deeper. About sixty yards (I speak from memory) above the Pool of Siloam, there is a sudden fall of the ground across the Tyropœon, and higher up there is again another sudden fall, and along one or other of these ledges of rock the first wall must have crossed the valley. According to Josephus, the first wall, ' on the

south side of the city, made *a bend* above the fountain of Siloam, and then *again* turned back and faced the east.¹ The wall, therefore, may be conceived as running near the foot of Sion on the south, until it reached the precipitous rock opposite Siloam, and then turning northward to cross the valley, and then descending southward again to the point of Ophel below Siloam, and then going up northward to the eastern cloister of the Temple. This is confirmed by the circumstance that the King's Pool, or that made by King Hezekiah below the Pool of Siloam, and the outline of which still remains, is called the pool 'between the two walls,' viz., the wall of Sion on the west, and the wall of Ophel on the east.² That the first wall did not follow the course of the aqueduct, but came down to near the foot of the hill, just opposite the Pool of Siloam, may be inferred also from the fact that Josephus speaks of the city as extending down to Siloam;³ and it can hardly be supposed that it did so on Ophel if it did not also do so on the much broader and more eligible hill of Sion.

We examined the Pool of Siloam, which was dilapidated beyond what, from the sketches of it, I had anticipated. The stones about it were not always in their places, and the walls appeared fast tottering to ruin. At the northern end, and separate from the pool, is a rude descent to the mouth or termination of the conduit which brings the stream from the Fountain of

¹ Bell. v. 4, 2.

² In Tobler's map (which I have adopted), the King's Pool is placed east and west; but, in reality, it lies, as the Pool of Siloam does, north and south, and is between the steep rock of Sion on the west and the steep rock of Ophel on the east; so that to form the pool it was only necessary to run a dam across the mouth of the valley.

³ Bell. ii. 16, 2.

the Virgin in the valley of Jehoshaphat. I went down to taste the water which has excited so much comment, but I found a man washing his feet in it, and forbore the experiment. To the east of the pool the rock rises abruptly, and upon the brow at the point of Ophel must have stood the tower alluded to by Luke xiii. 4. At the Feast of Tabernacles, water was wont to be drawn from Siloam, and carried up with great pomp by a procession of Priests and Levites to the Temple, and there poured upon the altar of burnt-offering, while the people chanted from Isaiah xii. 3, 'With joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation,' &c. At one of these scenes, when a multitude was congregated about the pool, the Tower of Siloam fell, and slew eighteen persons. As our Lord and his disciples were at Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 31, it is not unlikely that they had witnessed the accident, and if so this allusion of our Lord to the fearful catastrophe would be the more impressive.

The surplus water of the pool passes along a channel just under the rock of Ophel to the gardens below, and I was surprised to see what a plentiful current was now running, notwithstanding the lateness of the season. Just below the Pool of Siloam is seen the dry bed of the King's Pool, now cultivated as a garden, and at the southern end is a very broad dam, so broad that a wall might well have been carried over it. The main city wall no doubt took the curvilinear direction stated above; but a wall, by way of screen from the enemy, may also have stood upon the embankment. I did not observe, however, any traces of one. Toward the western end of the dam is the tree of Isaiah girt round with stones for its support—a frequent resort of the citizens to enjoy the coolness of the shade. At the

eastern end of the dam were several women engaged in washing clothes in the stream which, after passing by the side of the King's Pool, courses down the slope.

We took the path round Ophel, and passing along the eastern foot of it, I cast a searching eye upwards in the hope of detecting some symptom of the first wall which must have crowned the hill; but there was no sign. Here and there were holes excavated on the side of the hill, and caused, as I was informed, by diggings for ancient pottery; so that, desolate as Ophel now appears, it must once have been teeming with population. We came to the Pool of the Virgin, which lies about half-way between Siloam and the Haram, and is at a considerable depth below the level of the valley of Jehoshaphat. It is approached by two flights of stone steps, and at the bottom I found several women washing clothes, so that I was again prevented from testing the water. According to Josephus, the first wall in ascending from Siloam to the eastern cloister of the Temple passed by the *Pool of Solomon*; and, if there were no other pool in the neighbourhood, the Fountain of the Virgin might sufficiently answer the requisites; but on observing the great distance of the pool from the crown of Ophel, on which the wall must have stood, I could not help drawing the conclusion that the so-called Pool of Solomon was that upon Ophel itself, near the south-east quarter of the Haram, the remains of which are referred to by Tobler as still existing at a recent period, though now perhaps no longer traceable.¹ A pool in that part would almost necessarily be designated the Pool of Solomon, as, from the vicinity of his palace, at the south of the Temple, the localities in

¹ Tobler's Topog. ii. 78.

the same neighbourhood almost all carry the name of Solomon; such as the stables of Solomon, under the south-east corner of the Haram, and the Temple of Solomon, under the mosque of El Aksa. We crossed the bridge over the brook Kedron, but there was not water in it, and, as I understood, never is, except occasionally in winter. By the roadside, on the east of the valley, were a number of women breaking up the pottery which had been extracted from the opposite hill for cement to line the cisterns in Jerusalem. We passed the so-called Tombs of Zechariah, St. James, and Absalom, and made our way to the garden of Gethsemane — a small irregular parallelogram, surrounded by a high wall, at the foot of Mount Olivet, and nearly opposite St. Stephen's Gate. The only entrance was through a small door at the south-east corner. After a good deal of knocking a monk made his appearance, and let us in. The ground was laid out in walks and flower-beds, and the aged olive-trees were secured from depredation. They are, of course, said to be the original trees that witnessed the Agony; but as Josephus tells us that every available piece of wood within twelve miles from Jerusalem was cut down by the Romans and used for their works in the siege,¹ we may be sure that these olive-trees are of later growth. The site of the garden itself may be genuine — at least tradition, for the last 1,500 years, is in its favour,² and there are no circumstances related in the New Testament which at all militate against the theory. We did not care to inspect the Tomb of the Virgin, which has no claim to that title, and entered the

¹ Bell. vi. 2, 7.

² The Bordeaux Pilgrim saw it, A.D. 333, in the spot where it is now shown.

Damascus Gate. As we were close to the Serai, or barracks, at the north-west corner of the Haram, we asked permission by the way to ascend to the roof. This was readily accorded by the officer in command, who showed us the greatest civility. We mounted by several flights of stairs to the summit, and hence we had an excellent view over the whole city, and particularly over the area of the Haram just beneath us. The depression of the valley from the Jaffa Gate to the Temple was distinctly visible, and in ancient times the hollow must have been infinitely greater. In the Haram below us, what most attracted my attention was the evident paring away of the rock for producing a level at the north-west corner. Here, in the opinion of many, stood Fort Antonia; but there are insuperable objections to this. Antonia stood on the highest point of the Temple Platform, which this corner was not, and in the erection of Antonia the rock was not pared down, but the castle was built upon it.

That the mount which once stood here has been reduced from a considerable height, is evident by the walls of living rock on the west and north which have been left. The true explanation is, that here rose not Antonia, but the famous Macedonian Acra, which was originally higher than the Temple Mount, or Antonia itself; but the Jews had suffered so much from its occupation by the Macedonians, that when at last it was captured by Simon, they razed the tower to the ground, and not only so, but spent three years in cutting away the very rock on which it was built, casting the spoil into the Asmonean valley on the west.¹ From that time the Temple Mount to the south, on which had

¹ Ant. xiii. 6, 7.

been the Baris, and where afterwards was Antonia, and on which is now the Mosque of Omar, became, as it still is, the most elevated part of the platform.¹ The *Temple* itself lay at the south of the Temple *mount*, or Antonia, and was commanded by it. The idea that the altar was on the highest point of all, has led the way to numerous errors, and amongst the rest to the location of the Temple on the site of the present mosque. As we left the Serai, we proffered bakshish to the officer, but, to our great astonishment, it was politely declined,—the only instance in all our travels of a gratuity refused. As we passed through the gate the sentinels presented arms, and from the surprise at so unexpected a compliment we could not collect our thoughts sufficiently to return the salute. I believe that the English are great favourites with the Turks, who feel that in all their difficulties England has been their steadiest and staunchest friend. The idea of the Turk is, that when England deserts him—the sick man will die. We passed under the arch of Ecce Homo, and took the shortest road, which was still a circuitous one, to our hotel.

30th September, Tuesday.—At 7 A.M. the Janissary of the English Consul came to us, by appointment, to conduct us to the Haram. We had ordered a Firman the day before, and the charge was 10s. a-piece. Any-one now may visit the Haram as often as he pleases ‘for a consideration.’ It is said that during the time that the Europeans honour the Haram with their presence the rampant dervishes are put under lock and key. I hear, however, that some Europeans have recently spent whole days in taking measurements and making observations, and I should hope that the

¹ Ant. xiii. 6, 7.

Dervishes were not immured all the time. The Janissary of the English Consul, resplendent with the robes of office, and brandishing with a dignified air his silver-mounted iron-shod staff, put himself at our head, and stalked majestically before us down the crowded street, thumping the stones at every second step with the iron end of his staff until they rang again, that all the world might be apprised that the majesty of England, represented in the person of Mr. Bumble, was approaching ; but no one took the least notice !

We entered by the Serai Gate, and pursued the path which appears in Bartlett's 'Walks about Jerusalem,' p. 143. I cast my eyes up to the northern wall, and many stones were very large ; but somewhat to my surprise, I did not observe that any were bevelled. The ground below was everywhere burnt up, but when the rains begin, the surface, no doubt, assumes a beautiful verdure, and the whole area becomes then a kind of Home Park. We mounted the steps leading to the raised platform, in the centre of which stands the mosque, and entered the edifice itself by the eastern door. There has been so much controversy about the mosque, whether it was originally Christian or Saracenic, that I regretted my inability, from want of architectural knowledge, to form a judgment. However, I have visited numerous mosques at Constantinople, Cairo, and elsewhere, and nothing in the Mosque of Omar induced me to think that it was not originally a Turkish edifice. The dome was supported, as usual, by four massive pilasters, and ranged round between the pilasters were very handsome Corinthian columns. It was stated by Signor Pierotti, for many years the chief engineer of the Pasha at Jerusalem, in a lecture

delivered by him in 1862 at the Kensington Museum, that the columns of the mosque are not in situ, but have been transported thither from some other building. The probability is, that when the mosque was erected, the Arabs, not having the skill required for a work of so much beauty themselves, brought over as many pillars and other ornaments as they wanted from the church of Constantine, over the Holy Sepulchre on the opposite hill. This would at once explain the phenomenon, so much dwelt upon, that the Mosque of Omar betrays, in certain parts of it, a style of architecture peculiar to the first half of the 4th century.

The Sukrah, or sacred rock, immediately under the dome, is said to be 60 feet long from north to south, and 55 wide, and about 5 feet above the floor of the mosque. I pass over the puerilities of the impression of Mahomet's foot, as he took one of his flights to heaven, and of the angel Gabriel's fingers as he stopped the zealous rock from flying after the prophet. The only remarkable feature is that the north and west sides of the rock have been squared or cut away so as to form ledges as if for the foundations of some building. The structure which once stood here must have been the principal tower of Fort Antonia. As the Temple occupied the south-west corner of the Haram, and Antonia was to the north of the Temple at a little distance from it, but connected with it by two colonnades, the great south-east tower, which was much higher than the rest, and commanded a view of the Temple courts, must have been built as nearly as possible on this spot, the natural site for it as the highest point. The cutting of the rock is quite inconsistent with the

hypothesis of a Jewish altar, as the law prohibited any artificial configuration. Nor is the rock long and broad enough to have ever allowed the oxen to tread out the corn on the threshing floor of Araunah. We took the right hand and walked round the Sukrah until we came to the south-east corner, where was a very broad descent by stone steps down to the noble cave, which is said to be about 8 feet high and 15 feet wide. In the roof was an oval aperture about 3 feet wide, and in the corresponding place on the floor below was a circular marble slab, which, on being struck by the guide, gave out a hollow sound, showing that under it was a hollow, i.e., a well. The northern side of the cave was also struck, and in that direction also was some passage or apartment remaining to be explored. As for the well downward, it is called the Bir Arruah, or well of souls, and is supposed by the Mahomedans to be the entrance to Hades; and the convulsions into which enthusiasts were thrown, by holding converse with departed spirits by this channel, is said to have been the cause why the mouth of it was closed. For a long time this well was a mystery, and amongst other theories it was supposed to be the drain for the blood from the High altar. But the use of it has at length been satisfactorily explained. Signor Pierotti sent a person with a bell into the pool of the Virgin, and directed him to advance along the subterranean conduit which branches off to the right, ringing the bell all the way. Pierotti, on the surface above, followed the sound of the bell in a north-westerly direction, and eventually found himself standing on the marble slab in the cave, while the bell was being rung directly beneath it. The conduit, however, did not end there, but was continued towards the north, and also had

a branch to the west. It is clear, therefore, that the Bir Arruah was nothing more than a draw well, and the altar theory must be discarded. Had the water run from the Fountain of the Virgin to the Bir Arruah, it might be said that the object was to flush the water for carrying away the blood; but as the water runs from the Bir Arruah to the Fountain of the Virgin, it would be the height of absurdity to suppose that the blood was flushed into the conduit that supplied the inhabitants with water. The great argument relied upon, in support of the altar theory, is the fact that the Mosque of Omar has been built over the Sukrah, for how else could the Sukrah, if it were not the site of the altar, have acquired such an odour of sanctity. It may be asked, however, on the other hand, why the altar of the *Jewish* Temple should have been so much venerated by a *Mahomedan* ruler? It is very questionable whether reliance can be placed upon the accounts of the circumstances under which the Saracens took possession of the Haram, as the very earliest writers upon the subject lived two hundred years after the event;¹ but the facts, so far as known, appear to be these. When Omar took Jerusalem, he proposed to erect a mosque, and inquired of the patriarch for 'The mosque of David.' It was not very intelligible what was meant by this, and he was led to the *Tomb* of David, but this did not please him. He was then conducted to the *Church of Sion*, and this also was unsatisfactory. At last he was shown the Haram, and with this he was content.² The real site of the Jewish Temple was probably unknown, as after the erection of the Church of Constantine, on the

¹ 1 Rob. p. 298.

² See Fergusson, p. 134.

opposite hill, the platform of the Temple fell into neglect and was covered with rubbish and filth. The Temple had been utterly destroyed by Titus, and in the seventh century all traces of it were lost, and the position of it could only have been determined by a careful examination of Josephus, and comparison of his description with the features of the ground, but a scientific process of this kind was far beyond the reach of the wild Arabs. Even at the present day, when classical knowledge has attained to such proficiency, there still exists great difference of opinion. Omar, however, might be assured that on some part of this elevated platform, since called the Haram, had stood the Temple planned by David and completed by Solomon. It is not clear what was the exact site which he fixed upon. Some think it was the spot where is now the Mosque of Omar ; others, with more probability, place it to the west of El Aksa, where is the mosque which to this day bears also the name of Omar.¹ If so, it was built on the site of the royal cloister of the Jewish Temple. In the same century, Abd-el-Melek, the successor of Omar, built the magnificent structure now known amongst Christians as the Mosque of Omar, but which has no just pretension to the title. The object of Abd-el-Melek appears to have been a political one. Hitherto the stream of pilgrimage had been to Mecca, but at this time Mecca was in the hands of an opponent, Ibu Zobeir.² Abd-el-Melek therefore determined on the erection of a mosque which, from its splendour and sanctity, should attract the pilgrims to it instead of to Mecca. The Mahomedan tradition was that Mahomet

¹ Fergusson, p. 130, Holy City.

² Fergusson, p. 144.

had taken his celestial flight from the most elevated point of the Haram, namely, the rock impressed with his footmark as he went up, and with the fingers of Gabriel who retained the rock in its place. This was enough for Abd-el-Melek's purpose, and he erected there the gorgeous pile which has ever since had the desired effect of attracting pilgrimages. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that Kubbet es Sukrah in particular has an exclusive sanctity. The whole of the Haram is regarded as a mosque, and called the Mesjid el-Aksa, or the Remote Sanctuary, in opposition to Mecca and Medina, the Home Sanctuaries. Of the parts within the holy precincts, 'the Mosk el-Aksa,' says Robinson, 'is perhaps even more respected' than the Kubbet es Sukrah.¹

I longed to linger in the mosque to examine the details, but the reverend cicerone kept us moving, and I could only take a cursory view. We returned to the door by which we had entered, and walking a little way round the building to the right, we descended from the platform on which the mosque stands, by the flight of steps on the south, and proceeded to the Mosque El Aksa. As we passed along, we had on our left, though no longer distinguishable, the site of the Porch of Solomon, where our Lord and his disciples had been wont to walk,² and on our right had once stood the court of the women, where our Lord had so often preached, where he commended the poor widow, who had cast her two mites into the treasury,³ where the woman taken in adultery had been placed before him⁴

¹ 1 Rob. p. 300.

² Luke xxi. 1.

³ John x. 23.

⁴ John viii. 3.

for his judgment, where, many years afterwards, Paul had been set upon, and would have been killed, but for the opportune arrival of Lysias with the band of soldiers, who kept guard on the western cloister.¹ All this was in the past, and imagination only could reproduce the scenes. The prediction of our Lord that one stone should not be left upon another, had been so literally fulfilled, that as I looked around me, the eye could not rest upon one single relic of the gorgeous temple and its no less magnificent cloisters. The Mosque El Aksa is apparently a Roman Basilica with a good deal of Mahomedan patchwork. The roof is gilt and tessellated like St. Sophia at Constantinople. The Mosque of Omar as a whole, has a Mahomedan, while that of El Aksa has a Roman air.

On our exit from El Aksa we were conducted to the subterranean *double* passage leading to the Huldah Gate. This is one of the greatest curiosities in Jerusalem, being an undoubted remnant of the Solomonic era. The use of it was this ; the temple occupied the southwest corner of the Haram, and just below it on the south was the gorgeous palace of Solomon. In order to provide a suitable approach from the palace to the temple, the architect, in laying the solid mass of stone on which the temple and the surrounding cloisters were to be erected, left throughout a double subterranean gallery, commencing at the south and rising northward by several flights of steps to the surface of the area. The entrance to the gallery on the south, commonly called the Huldah Gate, is still much above the level of the ground without, and must therefore have originally been approached by a grand flight of steps. The termina-

¹ Acts xxi. 27.

tion of the gallery at the northern end, would, from its position, be opposite to and not very distant from the High Altar. The circumstance that these galleries ran up a solid mass of masonry has been their preservation, but they have suffered as much disfigurement as barbarism could inflict.

We descended by the steps a little in front of the Mosque El Aksa, and found ourselves in the eastern gallery, the western in this part being closed. About half-way down, the eastern gallery was blocked up, and we then crossed over to the western. The two galleries were originally divided by a series of columns. The only one that now stands free is that at the lower end, where both galleries are open ; and this part, which has the appearance of a vestibule, is called Solomon's Temple. The style of this column, which is short and massive, has a Corinthian air, that is, the capital is foliated, but instead of several leaves one above another in alto relievo, each leaf reaches up the whole length of the capital in basso relievo. On our first entrance into the descent, I observed on the left hand (the east) two closed doors, and these no doubt, once communicated with Solomon's stables, the substructions on the east : and it was perhaps down this side passage that Queen Athaliah, when, at the crowning of the young Josiah, she rushed up to the temple to raise a party in her favour, was laid hold of by her enemies and hurried away to the substructions and there dispatched.¹ The roofs of the two parallel galleries are arched, a convincing proof, if any were wanting, that the principle of the arch was well known to the wisest of men. The stones in the side walls are massive and were once

¹ 2 Kings xi. ; 2 Chron. xxiii.

bevelled, like those at the Wailing place and at the corners of the Haram; but some tasteless temple-warden has actually taken the pains to chisel off the projecting faces of the stones, with the idea of destroying the ancient panel-work, and bringing out a flat unmeaning surface. The work however, has not been so completely carried out, but that the spectator can readily trace, on nearly all the stones, the lines of the old beautiful bevel. This atrocious mutilation was probably committed when the whole adit was Romanised, for that such was its fate is plain, from the exterior on the south, where an architrave of Roman design is still visible.

In the vestibule to which we referred, an attempt has, at one time or other, been made to pierce the solid wall on the west, in the hope, probably of discovering treasure, but the labour was soon found to be a fruitless one, and was abandoned. The excavation, however, though to no great depth, still remains. On the eastern side at the lower end is a closed door, which must formerly have communicated with the door in a corresponding position in the substructions. The intervening space has never been explored. Should any one feel interested in this remarkable Double Passage, a remnant of the ancient Temple, he may see a most accurate representation of it with plans and sections in Traill's Josephus, so accurate indeed, that as I looked at the original, I could not suppress the reflection that I had seen the whole before, and, in this respect, had made so long a voyage to no purpose.

We made our exit from El Aksa, and walking round the eastern end of the mosque, came to the entrance to the substructions, which was close to the southern wall of the Haram, between El Aksa and the south-east corner.

The opening was tolerably wide, but we had to walk a few steps along a narrow ledge, and then jump down about six feet upon the mound of earth below. This looked soft enough, but was as hard as a rock and gave me a good shake. We then followed the descent until we quite lost our bearings. Fortunately, I had a compass with me, and the light, or rather darkness visible, was just sufficient to enable me to distinguish the direction of the needle. My great object was to examine the underground western wall, which I take to be the wall of the square platform of 600 feet, on which the Temple stood. We steered due west, and soon came to it. There were large bevelled stones in it, but there was not the same finish and regularity as in the external walls of the Haram, and I therefore concluded that the solid platform of the Temple and the substructions to the west, had from the first, formed one uniform design, that is, the eastern wall of the Temple Platform had never been intended to meet the eye of day. At the lower or south end of the wall, I observed a closed door answering to the closed door noticed at the lower end of the Double Passage, and this also leads to the inference that the western wall had never been the outer bulwark of the city. This remark is made with reference to the theory that the original outer wall was this wall on the western side of the substructions, and that the present eastern wall of the Haram was first erected by Agrippa in A.D. 43. The substructions themselves are supported by massive columns of bevelled stones, which, in the opinion of Barclay, are decidedly Jewish, and must, I think, from their connection with the Temple, have been coeval with it, and so the work of Solomon. The arches which they support may be Roman, and, as we should

conjecture, are attributable to Justinian, who is said by Procopius to have erected his church somewhere in this neighbourhood upon a level area, supported by subterranean vaults. The historian indeed would have us suppose, in honour of his hero, that Justinian built the vaults, and placed his church upon them, but it quite accords with the rhetorical style of Procopius, that he should magnify a restoration into a new construction. As to the church standing upon the vaults, the columns, considerable as they are, could not have carried it. Robinson must be right in saying that the church of Justinian is now represented by El Aksa. The latter is certainly Roman, and apparently Christian, and if so, what could it have been but the edifice referred to in the bombastic and inflated account of Procopius.

We were now summoned by shouts louder and louder to come out of the 'black hole,' and we scrambled back. Next to the cradle of Jesus, at the south-east corner of the Haram. We descended a flight of steps, and found ourselves in a room of moderate dimensions, and in the middle of it was a long stone sarcophagus, the upper part of which was carved like a scallop shell. It seemed to have been originally a *sedile* for a patriarch or bishop, and to have been thrown from the perpendicular into its present recumbent posture. However, it was shown to us as the cradle of Jesus, and so let it be.

Next to the Golden Gate; of which I have only to remark that it was clearly Roman (the work of Adrian, perhaps, when he restored the city by the name of *Ælia*), and that it is simply a portal divided by Corinthian pillars into two passages, and was never connected externally with any other building. At

least there are no traces to be seen of any such cohesion.

Our cicerone now gently insinuated that the time of payment had arrived, but there was one object of curiosity still left. I could not speak a word of Arabic, and, unable to explain myself, I looked about for our Dragoman, but he was nowhere to be found. Instead of giving us the benefit of his knowledge of any of the places, he had stolen away to seek amusement elsewhere. After repeated shouts he made his appearance, when we administered a pretty sharp rebuke, and told him to inquire for the great cistern recently discovered under the Haram. We soon proceeded to it, when we had again to burrow under ground. The narrow descent was just at the foot of the northern wall of El Aksa. The descent looked very dark and uninviting. My friend let himself gently down, and began to feel his way forward, but the descent was so sharp and slippery that without a light he could not advance with safety. A candle was produced, when the way was found quite practicable, and I lost no time in lowering myself also into the pit. After scrambling down an incline of about 40 feet, we reached the bottom, partially covered with water, which I tasted, and found it very soft, but I did not observe the brackish flavour so much talked about. On looking around, I was much struck with the vast extent of the cavern, supported by rude pillars of the native rock. These must originally have been reduced into shape and covered with cement, but their very naked deformity heightened the effect. The cistern is said to be capable of holding 2,000,000 gallons. I was satisfied at once that this was the great sea which supplied the Temple with water, and that consequently the Temple must have occupied the area

above. On the hypothesis that the Temple stood at the south-west corner of the Haram, the reservoir would lie under the principal court, called the Court of the Women. -

We left the Haram without having encountered the least appearance of insult, and, passing through the Sinsileh Gate, proceeded with the same state as before along Temple Street and David Street, to the castle of David, which was also included in the Firman. The only entrance is through a barbican, thrown over the fosse on the southern side, just opposite our hotel. Our principal attention was of course directed to the tower Phasaelus miscalled Hippicus. It presented the same appearance from within as from without the castle, that is, it was constructed all round of ancient bevelled stones, which are certainly in situ. The lower part is solid; at least no access was visible, or is known. We mounted the stairs on the outside, and ascended to the chamber above, and thence to the roof, from which we had a fine view of the city and environs. In the distance between the mountains we could distinctly trace the line of the Dead Sea. We next examined the tower at the north-west corner of David's castle by the Jaffa Gate, but the lower part was not solid, as Hippicus, which stood there, is described to have been. On the contrary, the *rez-de-chaussée* stood over some vaults and passages. The fabric, however, has no doubt been constructed of the old materials of Hippicus, as the stones, particularly the lower layers, are massive and bevelled, so much so that, had the base been solid, we might have concluded that a remnant of the original Hippicus was before us. The third tower, occupying the site of Mariamne at the south-east corner, was of a similar character, composed of old materials; but not

Mariamne itself. The castle was apparently garrisoned by two men, the sentinel at the gate, and the escort who conducted us over the fort. There were some pieces of ordnance in the embrasures, and most of them might be discharged with the certain effect of doing execution, not to the enemy, but to those who handled them. One or two were serviceable, and capable of being fired for a salute. Having paid the usual smart money for seeing the wonders, we adjourned to the hotel for breakfast. Long, however, as our stroll had been, I had no appetite. Indeed, all the time I was in Syria and Egypt, the heat of the climate effectually subdued the desire for food, though when it was placed before me I had no difficulty in the consumption. Once or twice I was so fatigued that the stomach revolted against anything solid; but a draught of liquid was always acceptable.

After breakfast I called on Dr. Sandretzki, who was connected with the Prussian church, and occupied a house a little to the south-east of the hotel. I had a letter of introduction to him, and he received me in the most cordial manner. He had not made the antiquities of Jerusalem his peculiar study, but he possessed a great deal of local information, which he readily communicated. He offered to accompany me at any time over the most remarkable places, and it was arranged that we should meet for the purpose the following Monday, the first day that happened to suit both of us. We had a long talk together, and discussed in detail many of the disputed questions about the topography of Jerusalem. I collected from him that the present impression amongst the literati was that the northern wall, in the time of Titus, did not extend further in that direction than the existing wall. The principal ground

nearly 5 feet wide. Those at the east of the angle are apparently not in situ, for they are isolated and not connected with other stones of a similar character, either above or below or at the sides. Those, on the contrary, which make the angle itself are in their original places; and what must not escape notice is that the stones are bevelled on the southern and eastern surfaces, but not on the northern and western, nor are the walls of a sufficient breadth to have served for an outer fortification. It must therefore be inferred that either they belonged to some public building, or if they entered into the outer city wall, there must have been other stones joining on to them on the north and west, which increased the thickness, and might have been bevelled on the exterior; or else, which is perhaps more probable than all, one of the towers stood formerly on this spot, and the angle which still remains was on the interior. It may be thought to support this view, that Miss Beaufort, now Lady Strangford, states that ‘in the middle (of the bazaar) Signor Pierotti came to stones of the same style of work in an excavation he had occasion to make for the Pasha;’ and Josephus mentions that when Titus had taken the third or outer wall, he assaulted the middle tower of the second wall, ‘where also were the wool-staplers’ and braziers’ shops of Cenopolis (the new city), and the clothes mart, and the alleys reached in a slanting direction to the wall;’¹ and this spot would be about the middle of the second wall, and here to this day the various marts are in full activity. What is the most striking feature about the stones is that they are precisely of the same character

¹ Bell. v. 7, 4.

with those seen at the Wailing place and at the corners of the Haram, namely, the bevel is very shallow and the surface finely smoothed. They must therefore be referable to the highest antiquity, and may be a remnant of the second wall erected by David or Solomon. Supposing the line of the second wall to have run along the northern side of the Pool of Hezekiah, where remains of it have been found in a western direction to the angle of which we have been speaking, it would follow that the church of the Holy Sepulchre would lie *without* the wall, that is, without the wall as the city existed in A. D. 33. To the south of the ancient stones to which we have alluded are other remains, consisting of a wall branching off to the south, and then a portal or gateway in the latter wall looking east and west, but all evidently Roman, and attributable to the Propylæa of Constantine. The stones last spoken of are not large or bevelled, and the southern side of the portal or gateway has a Corinthian capital, like some of the capitals in the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

We next made our exit from the Damascus Gate, and proceeded to the vast subterranean quarry from which all the stone for the Temple and walls, and indeed for the city generally, was extracted. It is called by Josephus the Royal Caverns, and by the Crusaders the Cotton Cave; and at present Solomon's Grotto. In order to reach it on passing out of the Damascus Gate, you turn to the right along the wall until you arrive nearly at the highest summit of Bezetha. Here, in the rock beneath the wall, is a hole just large enough to admit a person of moderate size, and through it my friend and myself and the dragoman crept on

hands and knees. All was dark, dark, dark—silent and solemn as the grave. We lit our tapers, but they were lost in such a vast expanse, and all that we could see was the bare frowning rock over our heads; and as we discerned no supports, it made one almost shrink down lest it should fall and grind us to powder. Not many years since a part of the rock actually fell, and the tremor of the ground, with the subdued thunder, alarmed all Jerusalem, under the belief that it was an earthquake. I had supposed that we should meet with bats or owls, if not with some wild animals, which might have made this their lair, not to speak of bandits or other vermin of our own species; but there was no living thing, and we heard no sound but the echo of our own voices. We advanced slowly over the uneven and slippery ground, and at first we were somewhat startled by observing moving figures on the rock before us. It was a natural magic lantern, for the sun without was so brilliant, and the darkness within so intense, that the light let in through the aperture shone upon the remote face of the rock, and reflected our figures upon it. We reached at length the wall of the cavern on the eastern side, and were curious to see the mode in which the stone had been quarried. It appeared that the size of the stone was marked out, and then a groove to the requisite depth was cut by the chisel, and the stone was then broken off. In general the severance was tolerably even, but occasionally, from the inclination of the stratum, the stone was detached with an irregular inner surface, leaving a stump behind, and not preserving the cubic form intended for it. As our tapers were very small, and we were ignorant what pitfall might be met with,

we did not care to penetrate the abyss to the extremity. We therefore turned round and retraced our steps, when the distant mouth of the cavern presented the appearance of a brilliant rising sun, and, to complete the deception, a ray of light through a chink a little to the east exactly resembled the twinkling morning star. Our examination of this Tartarian region was very unsatisfactory, as we should have come armed with blue lights. The discovery, which is quite recent, of these caverns is important, as indicating the course of Agrippa's wall. Josephus describes it as passing across the Royal caverns; and the present wall, in fact, stands on the rock which overhangs the entrance. A deep fosse has been cut out of the rock, from the mouth of the cave along the foot of the wall to the Damascus Gate, and on the northern side of the fosse a small chamber has been excavated. The use of the fosse probably was for the transportation of the stone from the mouth of the quarry to the Damascus Gate, and the chamber may have been the station where the person who kept watch and ward of the works found shelter.

We walked to the grotto of Jeremiah, which lies at the distance of about a furlong to the north of the Royal caverns, and on the east side of the great north road. The grotto is an open-mouthed semicircular excavation under the rock called Zahara. I had supposed, from reading, that the roof was supported by one large pillar in the middle; but, in fact, there are two massive columns of the living rock, but the eastern one might be easily overlooked, as the space between it and the side is occupied by buildings. This grotto presents the unusual phenomenon of the living beneath the dead, for the grotto is inhabited by a Dervish and his family,

while the rock above is a cemetery—the Mount of Tombs. It has been supposed, and is highly probable, that all the space between the grotto and the Royal caverns was originally one continuous ridge, and that it has been reduced to its present level by successive ages of quarrying. Our conjecture would be that a burial place existed on Zahara from the most remote times, and that, as it could not be disturbed, the stone was quarried under ground without breaking the surface, and thus was formed the Grotto of Jeremiah. On the other hand, toward the south the ridge was cut away until the city wall was reached, and then the quarry was continued under the wall, and by degrees the royal caverns attained their present extent. If this hypothesis be correct, it would result that the city never extended farther north than the line of the present north wall.

Next to the Tombs of the Kings, as they are called, but really the Tombs of Helena and the royal family of Adiabene. The distance from the Damascus Gate is, according to Josephus, three furlongs;¹ but by actual admeasurement it is about four furlongs. They lie a little to the east of the Damascus road, and are approached by an incline from west to east, and at the bottom is an arch cut in the northern wall of the incline and leading into a quadrilateral court hewn out of the rock, and about ninety feet square. On the western side of the court is an open chamber, the front of which was anciently supported by two columns, dividing it into three equal compartments, and over these spaces stood, in the time of Josephus, three small pyramids or *cippi*, whence the historian designates the Mausoleum.

¹ Ant. xx. 4, 3.

leum itself as the Pyramids.¹ The columns have now disappeared, but the entablature over the triple doorway remains, and exhibits a rich specimen of tracery, with clusters of grapes and leaves. The carving has a brown incrustation upon it, which may be the effect of time, but I was disposed to think that a coat of some kind of paint had been originally laid on it. This exquisite piece of workmanship of the Augustan age was sadly mutilated some years since by one who called himself the countryman of Robinson, the author of the 'Biblical Researches.' On the south side of the open chamber, which is on the west of the court, is the entrance into the Tombs themselves, by a low door sunk below the surface of the ground, and opened and closed by a circular stone, which still remains, and may be rolled backward and forward to or from the door of the sepulchre along a groove on the east side of the door. This illustrates the rolling stone which closed the tomb of our Lord: 'Who will roll away for us the stone from the mouth of the Sepulchre.'² We crept on hands and knees through the door, and explored with lights the several chambers to which it conducted. Most of the *loculi* were perforated in the rock at right angles to the wall of the chamber which contained them; but there were also several ledges or benches parallel to the wall, and so resembling the ledge or bench now shown as the tomb of our Lord. Each inner chamber had once been closed by a stone door of its own, and we could not help remarking how the doors, which had been thrown off their hinges and lay on the floors of the chambers, were carved into panels exactly like the doors of a gentleman's drawing-room in England. We

• ¹ Ant. xx. 4, 3.

² Mark xvi. 3; Luke xxiv. 2.

found no sarcophagus in any of the chambers, and we learnt that they had been carried off by the American. However, the lid of one of them lay in the outer court, as not worth the cost of removal.

Next to the Tombs of the Judges, and the distance of them in a north-west direction was much greater than I expected. We reached them at last, having on the road passed some escarpments of the rock, as if for houses, as also some remains of sepulchres of an ordinary character. The Tombs of the Judges are very inferior to the Tombs of the Kings, but the pediment over the entrance is handsomely carved. We descended two or three steps into the first chamber, in which were a number of *loculi* cut into the rock at right angles to the walls, and ranged in two tiers, one above the other. Opposite the entrance was a door leading into a second chamber pierced with *loculi*, and on the right or south side of the first chamber was a door leading to a *third* chamber pierced with *loculi*. At the north-east corner of the first chamber was a descent, too much filled up with rubbish to be penetrated; but, according to Barclay,¹ it conducts to a subterranean chamber on the east. At the south-west corner of the first chamber was a descent, which we entered, and found ourselves in a kind of rude grotto lying under the first chamber. What was the use of it I am unable to conjecture, unless it was a depository for treasure or other articles occasionally buried with the dead; or it may have been the commencement of a new chamber for *loculi*, but the completion of which had been interrupted by some accident. While we were seated in the outer

¹ City of Great King, p. 186.

chamber, enjoying the cool of the shade, two elderly Jewesses, mounted on donkeys, accompanied by two Jews on foot, came up to inspect the tomb. The Jewesses frequently kissed the stones of the walls with fervour, and I suppose in the belief that they were the resting-place of the last remains of the Israelitish magnates. They are now called the Tombs of the Judges, but some centuries since were known as the Tombs of the Prophets, and in a century hence will pass perhaps by some other name.

We crossed, on our way back, the ground between the so-called Tombs of the Kings and the crown of the hill at the north-west of the city (being the part which, according to Robinson, must have been traversed by the third or outer wall, and where traces of it should be seen). We looked about us for any remains of the wall, but could discover nothing, except that about halfway between the Tombs of the Kings and the crown of the hill we came upon some stones of no great size, extending in length from south-east to north-west about seventeen paces, presenting a perfect level on the surface, and an even line on the north-west side. The ground sloped on the south-east side, and the stones in that direction had no regularity. Whether the stones were brought from a distance, or were the living rock cut into shape, we could not say. One of the stones—the most northern, and which projected most above the ground—might have been bevelled, but we could not pronounce upon it. The bevel, if intended to be such, was extremely rude. The conclusion to which we came was, that the stones had never belonged to any wall of a city, but might have been the foundation of some private building, or have been an area for crushing olives or grapes, and one of the stones had a groove

cut in it, as if for some such purpose. That it in some way appertained to a suburban villa was confirmed by the circumstance that a little to the west of it was a cistern cut in the rock, and of the moderate dimensions suitable to a single mansion.

On our way to the north-west corner of the city we talked a good deal about the walls as described by Josephus and Robinson, when our dragoman, who did not wish to be supposed ignorant of any writer on Jerusalem, inquired whether Josephus and Robinson were still alive! I think my fellow traveller was right in his surmise that this was a leading question, and that the object was that when Josephus and Robinson came next to Jerusalem we should recommend the Royal Navy Hotel to their notice. Our dragoman was a highly respectable person in his way, being no less than the eldest son of the landlord of our hotel, and also, as he took frequent occasion to remind us, the brother-in-law of Mr. Berghem, the banker! The latter circumstance stood us in good stead, for now, through a word from our dragoman, we gained admission to the quadrangular space, inclosed by a wall, in which Mr. Berghem had recently made extensive excavations for the erection of a country-house; and it was on this occasion that we examined the remains to which we have referred in a previous page, namely, the columns and masonry of some ancient Christian church, as proved by the portrait of the Virgin, or of some saint, found on one of the stones.

Wednesday, 1st October.—Took a stroll before breakfast to Kalah el Jalūd, or the Giant's Castle, within the walls, at the north-west corner of the city. This heterogeneous mass of rubble-stone is 120 feet long, from east to west; unfortunately, I did not measure the breadth from north to south, but the breadth is much less than

the length. I have already noticed the large bevelled stones at the south-west corner, and which run due north, and show the course of the ancient wall in that part. We had now brought candles with us for the purpose of examining the interior. On the east side of the tower are two entrances, the most northern leading to a chamber used by the British consul as a stable, of which we found the door locked, though there was no horse to be stolen. The more southern entrance is a low arched passage, and we crept through it on our hands and knees. Within we found a chamber about fifty feet long and twenty wide, the eastern and western walls both of ancient bevelled stones *in situ*. The size of these stones was upwards of four feet in length and two in height, and from four to seven tiers of them remained. The northern and southern walls had no bevelled stones, but from the northern side was a projection, about ten feet square, which had bevelled stones on all three sides. At the further (the western) end of the chamber, a low arched passage of bevelled stones leads into another chamber of smaller dimensions, from twenty to thirty feet square, of which the eastern wall only was bevelled. The style of bevel was like that of Hippicus, and not so finely wrought as in the stones about the Haram. The impression made upon me was, that the large stones on the exterior of the building at the south-west corner belonged to the third wall, which then turned eastward, and that the chamber within was the remnant of the tower at the corner. Felix Fabri speaks expressly of Psephinus, as occupying this site, and, of course, if the third wall here bent eastward, the tower could only have been Psephinus.

After breakfast Mr. Barclay, the incumbent of Christ

Church, called upon me at the hotel, and offered his services in any way they could be available. During my whole stay at Jerusalem, no one could be more kind and attentive. We had a long gossip together about Jerusalem, and in the course of conversation I enquired if, in building the church on Mount Sion, many years since, the workmen had not stumbled upon a subterranean duct or conduit of considerable extent. He said that the entrance to it happened to be in his own house, but had been closed by masonry to prevent accidents, but that if I wished it he would have it opened. I could only say that it would afford me the greatest satisfaction, and he promised to let me hear from him. He added that a party were intending that day, at 3 P.M., to make an excursion to Scopus, and thence to the Church of the Ascension and Bethany, and invited us to join them, an offer which we gladly accepted. That we might not waste time during the interval, we sallied out of the Jaffa Gate and took the path on the west of Sion between the wall and the valley of Hinnom, and looked at the Lower Pool, now Birket Sultân. This has been formed by a broad bank carried across the valley, and now serving as a road. At the northern end of the pool are the arches by which the aqueduct is conveyed across to Sion. The sides of the pool shelve in a rude way with the valley. There was no water in it, and I was informed that there never is. The pool must have been formed very anciently, for we read of the conduit of the Upper Pool, which, of course, was so called from its relation to this the Lower Pool. Both of them lie in the valley of Hinnom; one of them, the Upper or Mamilla Pool, at the head of the valley, and the other, the Lower or Birket Sultân, half-way down.

We descended to the foot of Sion and crossed the

valley of Hinnom, and mounting some way up the Hill of Evil Counsel took a path toward the east, and came to Aceldama, or the field of blood. It is a little level plot overhanging the valley of Hinnom, and is set with a few trees. On the east side is an old building over a quadrangular pit, sunk some thirty feet into the rock. This was for many centuries the charnel-house into which the bodies of pilgrims who died at Jerusalem were thrown for interment. The custom of antiquity, therefore, corroborates the tradition that this was the field purchased with the thirty pieces of silver to bury strangers in. We turned south-westward and ascended the summit of the hill. The chief value of this view is that it so clearly explains why Jerusalem was distinguished into High Town and Low Town, as from this point the height of Sion above the lower platform of Moriah is very remarkable.¹ A little beyond us, on the other side (the south), stood out in relief against the sky the tree on which Judas is said to have hung himself. The appearance of the tree probably gave rise to the tradition, as the trunk rises without a branch to about twenty feet, and then, from the prevalence of the south-west winds, the branches stretch out in a direct line to the north-east so as to present the form of a gibbet. One is curious to know, when this tree has fallen, where Judas will hang himself next! Monkish invention will, no doubt, be as fertile for the future as it has been for the past.

We returned to the hotel, and found that Mr. Barclay and his party had already started, having left a message for us to follow. We mounted our steeds, and issuing out of the Jaffa Gate with our dragoman,

¹ The reader will see this very prominently in the view from the Hill of Evil Counsel, given in Bartlett's Walks, p. 59.

passed to the north-west corner of the city, and thence along the road under the wall to the north-east corner, and then took the track leading northward over Scopus. We crossed the valley of Jehoshaphat, and half-way up the hill overtook the party, consisting of Mr. Barclay, Dr. Chaplin, the English physician, Mr. Pullen and his wife, from England on some scientific mission, and the Rev. Mr. Payne, Chaplain to Her Majesty's ship 'Mars,' which had anchored off Jaffa. With Mr. Payne were some half-dozen sailors who had ridden with him all night, from Jaffa to Jerusalem, in defiance of the baneful influence of nocturnal dews. Mr. Payne gave each of them a dose of quinine on arriving at Jerusalem, and they seemed not to have suffered by the journey. As most of them had never bestridden a beast before, the consequences which did not meet the eye may have been more unpleasant than they cared to confess. Besides those I have mentioned, there was also a posse of dragomen and mongrels, variously mounted, who seemed bent on having a good day's sport. We climbed the crown of the hill and advanced a few steps beyond, when a grand view opened upon us. The map of Palestine seemed as by magic unrolled before us. On the north were the bald summits of the mountains of Samaria, and on the east were the mountains of Moab, and below them the valley of the Jordan, with the course of the river distinctly traceable from the fringe of verdure that garnished its banks. Jordan was about twenty miles off, but so beautifully clear and translucent was the air, that the long reach of the valley appeared but six or seven miles distant. We paused long in contemplation of this enchanting prospect, and then proceeding a little eastward recrossed the crown of the hill so as to get a view southward.

Here we were no less charmed than before. Jerusalem lay spread before us, and was so distinctly visible as to seem just under our feet. This hill has, indeed, been rightly called Scopus, or 'Belle Vue.' Whichever way we looked we could not have commanded a more magnificent panorama. A little to the right (the west), and half-way down Scopus, was prominently seen the platform or terrace which had been probably occupied by the camp of the 12th and 15th Legions on the approach of Titus along the great northern road. We advanced along the ridge of the hill to the Mosque of the Ascension, where we mounted the minaret, and gazed upon Jerusalem from the east, but this view was very inferior to the one we had just left. We again collected our forces, and took the road to Bethany, to see the Tomb of Lazarus. It lay on the right or south-east side of the road. The building over it contained no indications of the living rock, but was constructed of rude stones, without any stamp of antiquity. We descended a flight of about thirty steps, when we entered a small cave or grotto, and then turned short round and crept through a low narrow passage into an inner cell, which was said to be the veritable tomb. It was only in one place on the left hand that the natural rock appeared. All the rest was artificial stonework. We had candles with us, without which we should have seen nothing, and by the aid of these we saw but little. Tradition assigns this spot as the scene of one of the most impressive miracles of the New Testament, but the place was so at variance with the narrative that I looked about me without any feeling of awe. On an eminence at a little distance, but on the other side of the valley to the west, were pointed out the ruins of a village (Abu Dis) said to mark the site of the ancient

Bethphage, but this must be a mistake. Bethany and Bethphage were certainly close together, and both on the road from Jericho. On a gentle rise, just before reaching Bethany from Jericho, is an escarpment of the rock for the foundations of houses; and I have no doubt that Bethphage stood there, and was a kind of suburb to Bethany. The latter was the town of greater consequence, and I observed in one place massive bevelled stones, the relics of some ancient building of no little pretension.

In returning from Bethany to Jerusalem, we pursued, in all probability, the very road by which our Lord made his last triumphal approach to the capital. This intensely interesting scene has been graphically described by Stanley, and I can vouch for the accuracy of the local details. We advanced some way along the road, when we caught a glimpse of the southern portion of the city, and here it was that the accompanying multitudes broke into the spontaneous shout 'Hosanna to the Son of David.' A few steps farther and we again lost sight of the city, but all at once, on turning round a projecting shoulder of the Mount of Olives, we came so suddenly upon a full view of the whole capital from north to south, that, in the words of Stanley, it 'rose like a ghost' before us. It seemed, indeed, so close to us that we could scarcely believe that the valley of Jehoshaphat intervened. Apparently we could almost touch it. As we halted on the spot and gazed on the picture before us, Mr. Barclay proposed that we should sing a hymn, but there was no good voice amongst us, and the attempt was a failure. It served, however, to stamp on our minds the solemnity of the spot. The sun had set, and it would soon be dark; and we pushed on for St. Stephen's Gate, but it was

closed. We were, therefore, obliged to make a circuit round the north side of the town, and Mr. Barclay kept us together, lest any straggler might fall into the hands of those unceremonious gentlemen who have banished the word *tuum* from their vocabulary. We found the Jaffa Gate open, and thanking Mr. Barclay heartily for the treat he had afforded us, we dispersed to our different quarters.

Thursday, 2nd October.—We commenced to-day a little tour to the Jordan. It was to occupy three days, and we bargained with our dragoman that for 6*l.* apiece he should pay all expenses, and find escort, tent, provisions, &c. The sum was not unreasonable, but there were extras here and there which we had not reckoned upon. He had consulted us the day before whether he should hire an escort from a Sheikh or from the Government. He explained the latter alternative by saying that certain officers in the Turkish service undertake to find a number of bazouks or soldiers at so much a-head, to be ready as required for the protection of travellers. While, however, the Sultan cashes up for the whole corps (say 100), the contractor scarcely ever turns out a decent squad of twenty or thirty. What were called soldiers were, so far as I could judge, with rare exceptions, mere men in buckram, who, if thieves had set upon us, would have run and roared like any bull-calf. As our dragoman informed us that, in case of robbery, we could recover from the Government, but might not be equally lucky with the Sheikh, we pronounced in favour of the bazouks. Our whole party consisted of ourselves and our dragoman, four bazouks, a cook, and four attendants, eight horses, three mules, and two donkeys. I cannot speak too highly of the last ill-used and unjustly maligned animal. In Egypt I

have ridden a donkey twenty-eight miles a day without the least difficulty; and when I last visited the Pyramids, a gentleman, weighing some fifteen stone at the least, rode one there and back, a distance of about twenty-four miles, and cantered into Cairo on his return. At Smyrna, where thousands of camels come in and go out every day, their long trains are invariably led by a donkey, as the more intelligent beast; and in Syria, particularly amongst the mountains, the donkey as often as not is before the horse. As for the loads that they carry, it sometimes makes one's heart ache to see a great lubberly fellow jogging along on a diminutive donkey bending under its burden at every step. The patient endurance with which the poor beast bears it all excites the more compassion. How often have I said to myself, the man ought to carry the donkey, and not the donkey the man.

Our party started in two divisions. The light cavalry — that is, ourselves, and dragoman, and two bazouks — set off at 7 A.M. on the Bethlehem road for the Pools of Solomon, while the heavies or baggage train, under the charge of the two other bazouks, started for Jericho, where the tent and paraphernalia were to be deposited to await our arrival. The two latter bazouks were then to turn about and meet us as we advanced along the more southern route. We left by the Jaffa Gate, and followed for about half an hour what resembled a road, but soon came to the usual mountain track strewn with stones, but without Macadamisation; twice or thrice only by the way was there a flat open space, when one of our bazouks, the only tolerable dragoon, galloped this way and that, made the animal twist and turn, and curvette and caper and kick, and all, as he said, 'to put some mettle into him' — the Arabic phrase, I presume,

for showing off horsemanship. The superior officer or chief of the bazouks did us the honour of meeting, and saluting us by the way ; but as we could neither speak nor be spoken to intelligibly, he soon left his men to take care of us and departed in peace, so much so that I was quite unconscious how or when he stole away. On crowning the summit of a mountain, we saw Bethlehem on the left, seated on a considerable ridge on the other side of the valley. Below Bethlehem was a broad expanse of flat table land, said traditionally to be the spot where the shepherds were watching their flocks by night when the birth of the Saviour was announced. The distance of these fields from the town, and the remarkable levelness of the ground where all else is hill or vale, would naturally point to this locality. We passed Bethlehem without entering it on our left, and journeyed on through the usual bare and wild mountain tracks, until at last we came in sight of the well known mediæval castle that stands guard over the El Borak, or the Pools of Solomon. They are three in number, of an oblong shape, and lie one below another from west to east. The stones of which the sides are constructed are of ordinary character, and not at all like those round the Haram. There was water partially in all of them. I wished particularly to see the spring-head where, as I had read, was a subterranean chamber, the work of Solomon, and proving that the arch was well known at least in his day. The dragoman took us to the north-west corner of the Upper Pool, and showed us there, a few yards from the pool, a small underground chamber, approached by steps, and from which some native women were drawing water. This evidently was not the 'fountain sealed' that I was in search of, but the dragoman knew no other. I found afterwards

that the real springhead was a few hundred yards higher up the valley to the west, and the mouth of it so effectually sealed by a rock placed over it artificially, that its existence might well escape notice. The pools are at the head of the valley of Urtas, and are distant about eight miles from Jerusalem, which agrees sufficiently well with the statement of Josephus, that the Pools of Solomon were sixty stades, or seven and a-half miles from Jerusalem.¹ We rode down the northern side of the pools, and at the north-east corner of the lowest pool was an aqueduct which brings the water from the chamber at the north-west of the Upper Pool, along the northern side of the three pools, and originally conveyed it into the Haram at Jerusalem, but now as far only as Bethlehem. The aqueduct consists of pipes of red pottery, nearly a foot in diameter, and over them are laid heavy flat stones by way of protection. Here and there a stone has been removed, and the upper part of the conduit broken through, and then the water is seen running freely. We followed the course of the aqueduct along the northern side of the valley, and at the distance of about two miles from the pools, we saw far below us on the right the famous gardens of Urtas, the ancient Etam. Our dragoman, however, knew only the name of Urtas, and had never heard of Etam. All the time I was in Judæa, I never saw a more brilliant green than that presented by these gardens. The monotonous grey of the bare mountains around lent to the long streak of verdure below an intensity of colour which I should fail to describe. This little paradise was so deeply embosomed in the valley below, that we could not afford time to descend into it.

¹ Ant. viii. 7, 3.

From Urtas we still in general followed the aqueduct, parting from it at short intervals only, until we came in sight of Bethlehem on the opposite side of the valley. We had before looked at Bethlehem across the valley on the north, and we now did so across the valley on the south. We wound our way round the head of the valley, and not far from the entrance of the city found some women washing clothes in the stream of water which was flowing from the aqueduct. We mounted two or three short and steep roads, and entered Bethlehem itself. The streets were narrow and a great many people moving about in them, and I can confirm the general testimony to the beauty of the native women, as the handsomest face that I saw in all Judea greeted me in one of the thoroughfares of Bethlehem. We passed on to the Convent of the Nativity, on the north of the town, and approached it with a sort of triumphal procession, from the multitude of men and boys whom we had gradually collected about us, all anxious for the honour of holding our horses. We alighted in the little court-yard before the convent, and for some time assailed the solid wooden door without effect; but at last it was opened, when we found the friars busily engaged in treading out grapes with their naked feet. After a short parley, we were shown into a good-sized room garnished with pictures, such as you would see in a country inn, and furnished with table and chairs, and even a sofa, such as it was. Our first want was refreshment, and as we had brought provisions with us, it was not long before we sat down to luncheon. Presently in came Mr. and Mrs. Pullen, who had joined our riding party to Scopus. Luncheon ended, we all four proceeded through long

passages to the chapel of the convent, which was highly decorated with offerings. On the south side of it was a descent by a long flight of steps, and at the bottom was a small ill-lighted grotto, where, on the left, was a marble slab with a radiant star cut upon it, marking the place where our Lord was born. At the distance of about ten feet on the right was the manger (but nothing like one) in which our Lord was laid, and in front of us was the spot where our Lord was recumbent when the wise men of the East came to present their offerings. We then passed on into another subterranean chamber, where was a 'black hole,' in which the Innocents were murdered. The monks, I must say, show great consideration for the convenience of travellers, in bringing all their sacred localities within a reasonable distance from each other. We were next conducted to one of the most venerable buildings in Palestine, namely, the church built by Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great. A good view of it may be seen in Bartlett's 'Walks,' &c., p. 210. It had the usual appearance of a Roman basilica, and resembled in many respects the Mosque El Aksa in the Haram. Both edifices are unquestionably Roman, and vary only, as might be expected, from the different ages of their erection. The Church of the Nativity was the place where all the vendors of rosaries, crosses, shells, &c., were let loose upon us. As we had sufficiently supplied ourselves at Jerusalem, we did not want anything, but were obliged to make some small purchases as the only means of obtaining peace. We returned to the little court-yard, and having bakshished the men and boys, mounted our steeds.

We took the road along the north of the convent,

and again traversed mountains, crept round the edge of tremendous precipices, crossed the dry beds of torrents, and threaded narrow defiles. The wildness of the country in these parts cannot be exaggerated. All the way from Bethlehem to the convent of Mar Saba not a habitation was to be seen or a drop of water to be procured. We were to sleep at the convent of Mar Saba, and hoped to reach it before nightfall, or we might run some risk. Our dragoman, who was well mounted, rode in advance, and very nearly paid dearly for his temerity, as a Bedouin, well armed, rode up to him, and was about to commence hostilities, when, fortunately, we and our escort came in sight and the fellow made off. As we were nearing Mar Saba I saw our two bazouks, who were some way before us, start off at full gallop, and, wondering what was the matter, I observed two men, fully armed, charge against them at full speed in the opposite direction. It was the work of an instant; the two parties met, shots were exchanged, and then one of the riders dismounted, to rifle, as I supposed, the dead or wounded. I cannot answer for my friend, but I fully believed myself that in going down to Jericho we had fallen among thieves. However, with the usual sang-froid of Englishmen, we did not even check our horses, and in a few moments we found that it was all a farce! The two supposed bandits were the two of our escort who had gone round by Jericho, and had come to meet us; and it seems that when friendly Arabs encounter each other they gallop up in this silly way and exchange shots.

We arrived at Mar Saba just before dark, and presented an order from the patriarch at Jerusalem for our reception. After looking narrowly at us through the wicket, the monks admitted us into their little

fortress—a nest in the rock at the meeting of two ravines. We were conducted to an outer one-storied building, evidently erected for the accommodation of pilgrims, and were shown into a room which had a dais all round, ‘contrived a double debt to pay, A bed by night, a sofa all the day.’ A barefooted friar brought each of us a glass of water and a glass of *raki* and some dried figs, which were very grateful after our long and exhausting ride. Here we dined upon the provisions which we had brought, and at night a holy brother unlocked a cupboard and produced blankets and sheets, and made up our bed longitudinally on the dais. Seven or eight persons might easily have been accommodated in this way. What became of our dragoman or escort they best know themselves. The monks here, I understand, live upon a vegetable diet, and, if so, it seemed to agree with them. They do not admit ladies, which occasioned Miss Martineau to say that they were too holy to be hospitable. There is, however, a tower on the outside of the convent where ladies can be sheltered from the inclemency of the weather, and Madame Pfeiffer had once a night of it there. An American lady is said to have entered the convent in male attire, but was discovered and turned out *sans cérémonie*. There are many curious passages and chapels cut in the rock, and in one of the chambers was a large collection of human skulls, the sad relic of the monks of other days, who had been barbarously murdered.

Friday, 3rd October.—Rose at 5, and for my part I had not slept a wink. Whether this was owing to creatures that crawl, or hop, or fly I cannot say, but I believe that all were combined. How I envied my friend, who, either enveloped in a coat of mail impenetrable to the Lilliputian invaders, or composed of

materials that do not please their palate, has only to throw himself into the arms of Morpheus, ever ready to receive him, and is at once wrapped in Elysium, while I roll and toss about on my bed like Homer's black pudding or the hero's gridiron, ready to tear my flesh from my bones from the irritation of countless bites and stings. Indeed, my whole body, from head to foot, had become one continuous constellation.

At seven o'clock, having bakshished the friars, we set out upon our journey. We followed the southern bank of the ravine in which Mar Saba is ensconced for a considerable distance before a passage was practicable. We then crossed, and wandered over the broad backs of the mountains until we lost our way. A council of war was held, and, as a Bedouin was in sight, I proposed making enquiry; but one of our gallant escort would not hear of it, as if we were known to be stray sheep it might stir up the whole horde. In pursuing a north-east direction we could not go far wrong, and after climbing various steepes and descending into the wildest hollows, we at length recovered our bearings. A traveller must carry his bed and board with him, or the eagles will make a meal upon his carcass, for not a habitation is to be seen anywhere. We marched round precipices where a false step would have sent us down the abyss, and followed along the dry beds of torrents, one of them so deep and broad that quite a river must have run in winter, and, if seen foaming down the ravine between the high mountains on either side, would have presented a magnificent and sublime sight. The farther we advanced, the more rugged and wild the scenery; and nothing surprised me more than the perpetual descent, down, down, down, as if the Dead Sea were the sea of the dead, and we were groping

our way to the shores of Acheron. Every new abyss we thought must surely be the last, but another and another still succeeded. We had come from Jerusalem along the mountain ridges, and as the Dead Sea is 4,000 feet below the Holy City, it may well be supposed that we had to lower ourselves down a long and tedious declivity.

On emerging from the last defile, we came in sight of the Dead Sea, an irregular basin of the deepest blue, bordered by the plain on the north, and girt in on the other sides as far as the eye could reach by overhanging mountains. On the north a tongue of land stretched out for some distance southward, and beyond was the embouchure of the Jordan, marked by the jungle that lined the banks. After gazing a few minutes on the prospect, we made for the northern shore; but, although we had cleared the mountain passes, we had not reached the plain, but wandered over a succession of sand-hills broken in all directions by the dry beds of the winter torrents. Here and there, high up on the precipitous sides, I saw the nest of some large bird—an eagle or a raven, if ravens, where there are few or no trees, will condescend to build on terra firma. After the sand-hills came a thicket, which maintained a wretched vitality on the scant supply of water that oozed occasionally from the soil, and at last we reached the shore of the sea itself, a little west of the tongue of land. The broad expanse of waters had scarcely a ripple on its surface, and lay as calm as death. The edge of the shore was a bed of shingle composed of small rounded pebbles, and next above it was a rim of brushwood and reeds, no doubt brought down by the Jordan, and again deposited in the rainy season, when the level of the water is much higher. Both shingle

and wood, and indeed every substance in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea, were covered with a coating of slimy salt. I looked carefully along the shore for shells, but could detect no trace of them or of any animal life; still less could I meet with pieces of bitumen or sulphur, which, I believe, are not uncommonly picked up in the more southern parts. I had endured a most fatiguing journey, and the opportunity of a bath was too inviting to be resisted. I was somewhat ashamed of exhibiting myself in a state of nature, as, from the united effects of the crawling, hopping, and flying gentry of Palestine, I was more like a leopard than a man; but not to speak of the luxury, who, from curiosity alone, could fail, when the opportunity offered, to plunge into the famous Dead Sea? In undressing I found to my cost that any contact of the skin with the heated beach was very unpleasant. I waded into the tepid water, which shelved very gradually, and when in sufficient depth, a few yards from the edge, struck off and swam. I then lay motionless, and had I not experienced, I could not have believed the extent of the buoyancy. Body, arms, and legs floated on the surface like a log. The trial of skill is not to *swim*, but to *sink*. This arises from the quantity of salt and other substances held in solution. What a relief it would be to maternal anxieties if a swimming bath in London could be sufficiently pickled to insure that a person should float whether he would or not! The bath was a most delightful one, and I wished if it were possible that I might enjoy such a one daily. The temperature was warm, and on coming out of the water I did not find any of the inconveniences to which others have referred.

We now rode across the plain, which is still what it always was—a wilderness. The soil is not an arid sand,

but apparently a fine mould, capable of producing luxuriant crops if only irrigation could be provided ; but the valley is nearly 600 feet below the level of the Mediterranean, and is the torrid zone of Palestine, and cursed with sterility for want of a little water.

As we approached the Jordan vegetation began to be more frequent, until it became a continuous border along the margin of the river. On reaching the stream itself we found it flowing lazily along at a depth of from fifteen to twenty feet below the surface, as yellow as the Tiber at Rome, and about as broad, but with much less water. The banks were of loam and clay, and perpendicular, so that a person swimming down the stream might very well find himself unable either to return by stemming the current, or to escape by climbing the sides. I was told that earlier in the year an adventurous traveller had in this way lost his life, and his body had been carried into the Dead Sea !

We skirted the western bank of the Jordan, sometimes close upon it, and sometimes at a little distance, until we arrived at a small wood, consisting of poplars, willows, canes, and reeds, fringing the western bank. The spot was quite familiar to me from the different views I had seen of it in England. The Jordan here makes a little elbow, and while there is a considerable breadth of water above, there is below a bed of shingle thrown up by the eddy of the stream. The eastern bank is high, a mixture of loam and clay ; the western bank low, and only a few feet above the water level, which would account for the vegetation from the overflow of the river in time of flood. Here, in the shade, was our trysting place, and while the luncheon was unpacking I stepped down upon the shingle bed, doffed my clothes, and waded into the stream. The water was

tepid, and the bottom muddy. I did not think of making the attempt, but I have no doubt that I could have forded the river with ease. The bath was refreshing enough, but not to be compared for enjoyment to that in the clear blue basin of the Dead Sea. If the latter had left any salt upon me, it was now effectually washed away. The luncheon, after so long and wearisome a ride, was very acceptable, and tumbler after tumbler of wine and water seemed to have no effect in slaking our thirst. The débris of the provisions was turned over to the escort, while my friend amused himself by looking for presentable sticks as mementos for friends in England, and I reclined in the shade, with a cigar, not so much enjoying it as satisfying the craving for want of it. Here, or close at hand, must have been the passage of the Israelites over the Jordan. Such at least is the inference furnished by the narrative. Two spies were sent by Joshua to Jericho, and were concealed by Rahab, who, when her house was searched, said, 'When it was dark the men went out . . . pursue after them quickly, for ye shall overtake them . . . and the men pursued after them the way to Jordan *unto the fords*.'—Josh. ii. 5, 7. After three days the two spies, who meanwhile had been 'let down by a cord through a window,' and had secreted themselves amongst the cliffs on the west, 'returned and descended from the mountain, and *passed over* (the Jordan), and came to Joshua the son of Nun, and told him all things that befell them.'—Josh. ii. 23. The spies therefore came and went by the fords of Jericho, which were those before us. It would also seem that the whole host of the Israelites crossed at the same part, for 'the people passed over *right against Jericho*.'—Josh. iii. 16; and their next encampment was 'in Gilgal, in the east border of Jericho'

(Josh. iv. 19); that is, between us and Jericho, which lay due west. In saying, however, that the Israelites effected their transit in this locality, it is of course meant only that this may be regarded as the central point where the ark of the covenant rested, for as there were '40,000 prepared for war,' the whole multitude must have been vast indeed, and have covered the eastern bank of the Jordan for several miles, as is indicated by the text itself, for 'the waters which came down from above stood and rose up very far (not *from*, but as Stanley properly corrects the translation), *at* the city of Adam, that is beside Zaretan, and those that came down toward the sea of the plain, even the Salt Sea, failed, and were cut off.'—Josh. iii. 16. As Zaretan was near Succoth (1 Kings vii. 46), the bed of the river must have been laid dry all the way from Succoth to the Dead Sea. The passage was at harvest, when 'Jordan overfloweth all his banks.'—Josh. iii. 15; and, accordingly, 'the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the *brim* of the water (iii. 15), and as the stream subsided they advanced, and ultimately 'stood firm on dry ground in the *midst of Jordan*' (iv. 3); and 'Joshua set up twelve stones in the midst of Jordan, in the place where the feet of the priests which bore the ark of the covenant stood' (iv. 9).

Here too, in later ages, was the preaching of John the Baptist. The scene of his labours was at 'Bethabara beyond Jordan' (John i. 28), and Bethabara signifies the ford-house or place of passage. There are, no doubt, several fords along the Jordan, but which of them would be so appropriate as the ford of Jericho? The object of John must have been to publish his mission to the numerous pilgrims on their way up to Jerusalem, and at this ford the pilgrims from the *south*,

as well as the *north*, would be collected in greatest numbers. The reason for exercising his ministry *beyond* rather than on this side Jordan may have been, because the jurisdiction of the jealous Pharisees of Jerusalem, extended to the Jordan but no farther. Beyond it began the dominions of Herod Antipas, who had, or pretended to have, a great respect for John, though a rash oath led him eventually to sacrifice the Baptist to the vindictive passions of his wife Herodias.

After luncheon we mounted our steeds, and in passing through the thicket on the banks of the Jordan we put up a covey of partridges. We then came again to the sterile open plain. At the end of an hour and a half signs of vegetation reappeared in the graceful thorn, the nubk or dome tree. We passed on our right the tower of a mediæval castle, and in half an hour more reached the village of Riha, or Eriha, a corruption of the ancient Jericho, and the site of the Roman as opposed to the old Jewish city, which lay about two miles to the north. The village consists of low huts or hovels, with stone walls and flat roofs of reeds or boughs. The children, boys and girls, ran out in a state of nudity, and cried aloud for bakshish! The only protection from the Bedouin was an outer fence of the nubk or dome. We did not enter the precincts, but kept along the track, having the village on our right. On the left we came to an open oblong space, bounded on the north by the road, and on the south by a little rill, brought, I presume, from the spring of Elisha, and on each side was a row of tall fig-trees, which yielded so strong a smell as to be almost disagreeable. Here we found our little tent already pitched, open at both ends, with a bed on each side of the interior, and a table in the middle, and camp-stools

for our seats. After so much fatigue, I threw myself at once upon the bed, to rest myself till dinner was ready. In half an hour we sat down to our repast, which did justice to our itinerant cook. In the evening my friend went into Riha to witness a funeral wake, and came away with an empty pocket, from the constant drain upon it for bakshish. We retired early to our beds, but not, to speak for myself, to sleep. This was the ordinary camping ground, and the surface was strewn with chopped straw, the refuse of provender for cattle; and here nestled countless multitudes of fleas, which must have welcomed our arrival with intense satisfaction. They certainly did not lose their opportunity, for never in my life was I so bitten. Our escort also kept up a conversation nearly the whole night outside the tent, and every now and then was heard the snorting of horses or the braying of asses; and once, too, occurred a fierce encounter of two cats so close to my ear that I thought they must be within the tent, and struck a light to turn them out, but as my search was in vain, the caterwauling must have come from the exterior.

Saturday, 4th October. I longed for daylight, and rose at daybreak to look about me. Between our tent and the village was the beaten track running up to the mountain pass. The wretched inhabitants of Riha were seen driving out their cattle to water. Here, or nigh at hand, thought I to myself, must our Lord, more than 1,800 years ago, have passed the night at the house of Zaccheus. According to St. Luke, Zaccheus was an opulent person, the chief publican or farmer of the taxes. Jericho was then the city of palms, and then, as now in Egypt, every palm tree no doubt paid a tax, and Zaccheus was the collector, and

having made his fortune by it, occupied one of the best mansions in the city. Our Lord was seen approaching Jericho with a vast concourse before and behind, inso-much that it was afterwards made an accusation against him that he had stirred up all Galilee.¹ Zaccheus was smitten with an irresistible desire to see the prophet of Nazareth, and being little of stature, and having no chance in a crowd, he ran before along the road by which Jesus was to pass, and climbed up a sycamore which stood by the wayside. Our Lord saw him, and, to Zaccheus' great delight, bade him come down, as that night he would sojourn at his house. Our Lord, then, had slept at Jericho, and had pursued the next day on foot the very route to Bethany which I was about to take on horseback. According to the English version, our Lord 'entered and passed through Jericho, and Zaccheus,' &c.,² as if our Lord had left Jericho, so that the sycamore and the house of Zaccheus lay between Jericho and Bethany. But in all this interval there is not, and probably never was, either a tree or a house, except the public caravansary half-way. The Greek, however, is very different, and runs thus: 'And our Lord entered Jericho, and *was passing through it*, when Zaccheus,' &c.³ Thus the sycamore and the house were both in Jericho itself.

After breakfast we started at about seven for the old Jewish Jericho, two miles to the north. We rode over open ground interspersed with the nubk or dome, and passed an encampment of Bedouins on our right. After a while we came upon a brook running on our right, with an abundant stream of water from north to south. The banks were covered with verdure, and I

¹ Luke xxiii. 5.

² Luke xix. 1.

³ Καὶ εἰσελθὼν διήρχετο τὴν Ἱεριχὴν.

could fancy myself by the side of an English rivulet. We followed along the western brink of the stream until we reached the fountain of Elisha, where such a quantity of water issues all at once from a basin about twenty feet wide as to be quite a phenomenon. We found two men wading about in the living crystal, and carefully turning over every stone. I could not imagine what they were searching for, until one of them held up in triumph a large crab! quite large enough for a London supper party! Our dragoman got possession of it by dint of some Arabic chicanery, but I could not see that any money passed.

On the west of the fountain was a pretty steep mound, and between it and the foot of the mountains were several ruins, but apparently not of any city wall, or theatre, though they must have belonged to some public edifice. This was the site of the city which had been stormed by Joshua. The attraction to the spot was the plentiful outflow of water, the only mother of vegetation in the valley of the Jordan.

We now turned back in a south-west direction to regain the track at the mountain pass, and in the distance saw our baggage wending its slow way across the plain. We overtook it at the foot of the mountains, and as there is no fast travelling up the ravines, we did not again part company. As we entered the gorge I thought of the words of our Lord, ‘Behold, we *go up* to Jerusalem,’¹ for now all was ascent as before all had been descent. The rise, however, to Jerusalem, being longer, was not nearly so precipitous as had been the declivity from Mar Saba to the Dead Sea. Just at the entrance into the mountains were some extensive remains on the right,

¹ Luke xviii. 31.

but I could not say to what building they had belonged. Could they have appertained to the Amphitheatre built by Herod at Jericho? but probably not, as the Amphitheatre is described by Josephus as lying in the plain.¹ After attaining a considerable elevation I looked back and observed below, between Riha and the mountains, a very large dry reservoir; and in that neighbourhood the ruins of the Amphitheatre should be looked for. A little further on I remarked, by the side of the road, a broken aqueduct, a proof that in the days of Herod, if not before, great expense was incurred to bring irrigation into the plain and so recover a wider extent from the wilderness. The track which we followed was of good width, and pains had evidently been taken in its formation; but I looked everywhere in vain for any traces of wheels. Had this ever been a road for carriages, could all signs have entirely disappeared, where the foundation is solid rock? About half-way between Jericho and Jerusalem were the ruins of a large caravansary on the right hand. As this was the only relic of habitation between the entrance into the mountains and Bethany, we can have no difficulty in locating here the inn, or caravansary, alluded to in the parable of the pilgrim who, as he was going down to Jericho, fell among thieves, &c. On the opposite side of the road, and therefore on our left (the south), was a perpendicular rock with a small grotto excavated, and a level space in front. This is the usual resting-place of travellers; and here we dismounted, and sat down to luncheon under 'the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.'²

After luncheon we recommenced our tedious pilgrimage along the valleys and up the mountains, with no

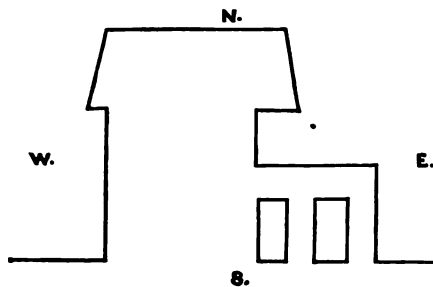
¹ Ant. xv. 8, 1.

² Is. xxxii. 2.

signs of habitation, or vegetation, or moving life of any kind. A little before reaching Bethany we arrived at the Fountain of the Apostles, so called from the tradition that here the Apostles stopped to slake their thirst, which may be readily believed, as after a long journey from Jericho no one passes the spring without taking a draught of water. Just before entering Bethany is an elevation on the right of the road, where the foundations of houses are plainly visible. Here Bethphage should be placed, for Bethany and Bethphage were evidently close together, and Bethphage may be considered as a suburb of the larger town of Bethany. We passed by the tomb of Lazarus to the Church of the Ascension on the summit of the Mount Olivet, and then descended by the road on the right hand, which was so steep that we could scarcely keep our horses on their legs. We entered by St. Stephen's Gate, and so closed our wearisome but most interesting tour.

Sunday, 5th October.—Rose early, as usual, and having fortified the inner man with a cup of coffee and a crust of bread (our invariable practice) we sallied from the Jaffa gate, and explored the tract on the north-west of the city, to search again for any traces of the ancient third wall. We could discover nothing but the few stones lying in a straight line from north-east to south-west, which have already been noticed. Not only were there no fragments of any wall remaining, but the eye could not rest upon either any continuous ridge that could have supported a fortification, or any depression that could have served for a fosse. Had the wall here crossed from west to east, the ground offered no natural defence, and some signs of the artificial substitutes which must have been required would have

been observable. We adjourned to the Damascus Gate, and on entering took the first passage to the right, or west, in the hope of obtaining some further light as to the western portion of the gate. On clambering over a low wall and mounting upon a bank of earth, I observed a door open below which gave access to the desired locality. Some men were at work there, and they allowed me to enter, and I found unquestionable remains of an ancient Jewish tower. There were five or six layers of stones, massive and bevelled, and evidently *in situ*. The chamber was open toward the south, and was eight paces long from north to south, and five paces wide. On the east side was a passage running off due east, and two other passages branched off from it to the south. The ground plan of the chamber will be best understood by the following sketch :—



In Traill's 'Josephus,' at p. xlvi., will be found the view of an old tower in the northern wall, and which is there placed at the distance of 100 yards to the west of the gate ; but there is no such tower to be seen, and it is manifest that the position of it has been mistaken, and that it represents (which it does most correctly) the western tower of the Damascus Gate. By comparing the ground plan above with the view in Traill's

‘Josephus,’ the reader will have an accurate notion of this venerable relic. I cannot doubt that this old western tower and the corresponding one on the east side, described by Robinson, and of which a view is given by Bartlett (‘Jerus. Rev.’ p. 188), are the two women’s towers referred to by Josephus, and from which the Jews sallied as Titus came down the great northern road to reconnoitre the city, and from which the Jews afterwards made another sally and chased the Romans all the way to the Tombs of Helena, now the Tombs of the Kings.

At ten o’clock I attended the English service at Christ Church, a little to the south of the hotel. There was a congregation of forty or fifty persons, and one half stayed the Sacrament. I felt very thankful that I had hitherto enjoyed my health. I had started with great misgivings lest the climate should be too much for me, but my fears happily were never realised. Much fever was said to be prevalent in Jerusalem, and September and October are the two most unhealthy months; but I suspect that the principal sufferers are those whose constitutions have by long residence been gradually broken down by the constant pressure of an unwholesome climate. A traveller brings with him a rude stock of health which can bear to be drawn upon for a considerable interval without exhaustion. An old Indian told me that for a year or so he had experienced no inconvenience from the power of an oriental sun, but that afterwards it affected his head; and I was quite surprised to see him sheltering himself under the shade, while I could stand myself in the full blaze of noonday with the utmost impunity. Most travellers to Syria prefer the early spring, and certainly

at that time the country, from its verdure, must be much more attractive, but the months of September and October are not to be despised. The temperature of the air has then cooled down, and you are certain of having a cloudless sky. The danger of fever appears to be very slight if ordinary precautions be observed. Take no exertion in the morning without first fortifying yourself with a cup of coffee and a morsel of bread or biscuit. When you go out keep your head and the back of your neck well covered with a band of muslin round the head, with a lappet behind, and avoid as much as possible the night air, making it a rule never to sleep without a covering overhead to keep off the noxious falling dews. At Jerusalem it would also be advisable to choose a healthy situation during your sojourn. There seems to be a law *against* carrying any filth beyond the walls. The consequence is that the most pestiferous exhalations arise from the action of a powerful sun upon one vast dunghheap, and fevers of course are generated. I cannot say much in favour of the internal comforts of our hotel (Simeon's), but its situation is the best in Jerusalem, as it stands on the highest ground, and has the full benefit of the purifying breezes from the southwest, which are the prevalent winds. When we were at Jerusalem, Dr. Rosen, the Prussian consul, was still suffering from an attack of fever; and it occurred to me that this was in some measure attributable to the position of his house, which is near the centre of the city, and, though not on the lowest ground, is far from standing on the highest. The mansion itself was roomy, and had the advantage of a pretty garden adjoining; but how can there be pure air in the midst of malaria? One might as well hope to find fresh water in the middle of the Dead Sea.

After church, we took a long circumbendibus walk in and about the city. We first searched along the foot of the wall on the *interior*, from the north-west corner eastward, to look for the stones which Tipping and Walcott 'took to be the natural rock, but which, on closer examination, appeared to have been bevelled, though dislocated;' ¹ but we could not light upon them, and I think they must have been broken up and removed. We then made our exit from the Damascus Gate, and passed along the foot of the wall on the *outside* to the north-east corner. Our object was to see how far any part of the present wall could be identified with the ancient. The whole reach was dotted with antique remains, but at the fourth tower, reckoned from the north-east corner, and which was just west of the Hadji Pool, there were six or seven courses of ancient bevelled stones, which we pronounced to be *in situ*. The tower at the north-east corner itself prevented similar marks of antiquity in the lower part. The wall upon the crown of Bezetha hill was too high to require protection, but from that point or near it to the north-east corner was a deep and broad fosse at the foot of the wall, cut in the solid rock. Upon the whole we could not doubt that this was the line of an ancient Jewish wall; and if so, it could only have been of the third or Agrippa's wall, as the second wall did not cover Antonia, ² and could not have extended so far east. In a northward direction from the north-east corner was no trace of either wall or trench, but the ground was perfectly natural. We turned round the corner and walked along the fosse (which is here very deep and continues for some distance) toward the Damascus Gate. We noticed in several places, and

¹ Rob. vol. iii. p. 219.

² Bell. v. 6, 2.

particularly about half-way along, the stones of the old Jewish wall resting upon their original rocky beds. We entered St. Stephen's Gate, and took the Via Dolorosa to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where we again satisfied ourselves that no part of the natural rock was visible in or about the Sepulchre itself. We returned to the Damascus Gate with the intention of inspecting the walls on the *interior* between that gate and the north-east corner of the city. It was sometime before we could mount upon the wall, and then we soon came to a tower which obliged us to descend. We therefore abandoned our object, and struck off upon a track to the south, and steering by the compass through various lanes and alleys, effected at last a safe retreat to our hotel. I should add that all the north-east part of the city is entirely unoccupied by houses, and is cultivated ground interspersed with ruins, but which, so far as we observed, had not the stamp of any high antiquity. I should think there must be excellent crops here, at least the ground appeared not to want a good supply of animal manure.

Monday, 6th October. I was anxious before leaving Jerusalem to take the measurements of the vaults under the Kalah el Jalûd, or Giant's Castle, at the north-west corner of the city; and as this occupation would be no amusement to my friend, I started before breakfast with the dragoman, and reached the spot in five minutes. The two entrances to the vaults are, as I have already said, on the east side. The more northern one was closed by a door, which was locked, and on applying at the English Consul's hard by for the key we were told that, for some reason or other, it could not be had, but it was promised for another day. This northern door was so dilapidated, and so ill-fitted to the sides,

that we could look in, and as no horse or other valuable could be stolen we doubted the necessity of any lock at all. However, we could not commit a burglary, and proceeded to examine the southern vault. We crept through on hands and knees, and just as I was getting through, a beast rushed past me, and startled me for the moment not a little. It was no doubt a dog which had made the vault his night's lodging, and had overslept himself. He was evidently an intruder, or he would have done battle in defence of his castle. Brutes have certainly a moral sense, and this specimen of the canine race was so conscious of his trespass that he was happy to escape without a whipping. We lit our candles and made as good a survey with the measuring line as we could. The results will be seen in a future page.

As we were close to the Latin Convent, to which a garden of some extent is attached, I expressed a wish to visit it in quest of antiquities. We therefore entered the open gate, and walked boldly forward into the garden, and took a superficial view of it, and again retreated without the least interruption. The holy friars were very busily engaged in weighing a cart load of grapes to be made into wine for taking the chill off religion during the approaching winter. The only result of our investigation was the discovery that nothing was to be discovered. As we crossed David Street on our way back the dragoman saw Dr. Rosen in a shop, when I sent the dragoman to ask that I might be allowed to introduce myself. This was taking a liberty, but I was particularly anxious to exchange a few words with Dr. Rosen as the most accomplished antiquary in Jerusalem, and the opportunity was not to be lost. As he had been suffering from fever, and

obliged to try the experiment of a tent life outside the walls, I did not know whether he might again re-visit the city during my sojourn. I was sorry to hear afterwards that while he was tented outside the walls, the Bedouins at night carried off all his valuables, but without any personal violence. He was acquainted with my name through Dr. Sandretzski, and at once came out and greeted me with a friendly shake of the hand. I could not, in conscience, detain him long in his enfeebled state, and contented myself with a few enquiries, whether, in the excavations by the Russians and Mr. Berghem without the city on the north-west, any remains had been found of the third wall? and he informed me that not a trace of it had come to light; and I understood him to say that recent opinion was against extending the northern wall beyond its present limits.

After breakfast I called, as had been arranged a few days previously, on Dr. Sandretzski for the purpose of taking a stroll with him about the city. I proposed that we should explore the subterranean gallery newly discovered at the north-west corner of the Haram, and he suggested that, as Dr. Rosen was 'in town,' we had better call upon him by the way, and have the benefit of his directions. This was exactly what I should have wished, and we set out for Dr. Rosen's house. Mrs. Rosen first made her appearance, and I was very much charmed with her—a kind and affable person, and full of intelligence which beamed in all her features. We found Dr. Rosen reclining upon a sofa under a kind of verandah opening upon a delightful garden. We were received very cordially, and as I did not want to lose any time, Dr. Rosen and myself entered at once upon some of the most interesting questions of the topo-

graphy. We were becoming quite animated in support of our different hypotheses, when Dr. Sandretzski, by an indescribable look and gesticulation, gave me to understand that we had better take our leave. As Dr. Rosen was only just recovering from a severe attack of fever, which I had lost sight of, I was doing him no good. At parting he was kind enough to present me with a pamphlet (in German) which he had published a few years before, on the most recent discoveries in Jerusalem; and he intimated that, should his health permit, he intended publishing a larger work, developing his views in general on the subject of ancient Jerusalem. This would be a great boon to the public as, unquestionably, there is no one at Jerusalem so capable of such an undertaking as Dr. Rosen.

We now threaded our way through a labyrinth to the French Convent, under which was the subterranean gallery. The convent is a new building not yet completed, and stands exactly north of the arch of Ecce Homo, the entrance to it being from the Via Dolorosa. We knocked at the door, and were shown into a small room on the right, and presently two Sisters of Charity made their appearance—the younger of the two much too good looking and too agreeable to be shut up in a convent, and, of all places in the world, a convent in Jerusalem! Coffee was brought in, and the French skill in this department was as preeminent in the Holy City as in the cafés of Paris. We were then conducted into a little court on the west of the convent, next the Via Dolorosa; and here we at once discovered the secret of the Ecce Homo which has so much puzzled antiquaries and given rise to so many hypotheses. Some have regarded it as a gate in the Jewish second wall, and others as the great eastern gate of the Roman

Ælia. The fact is that it was a Roman triumphal arch, probably erected in the time of Adrian, to commemorate the suppression of the great Jewish insurrection under Barcochab. It had consisted originally of three arches; the principal one in the centre, a carriage way, which now spans the *Via Dolorosa*, and is partly in the convent, and on each side another smaller arch for foot passengers. The one on the north still remains quite perfect, and we saw it on the eastern side of the court yard of the convent, and forming there a part of the wall. The other arch on the south had existed until about forty years since, when, as persons now living can testify, it was removed to make way for the foundation of a little mosque then erected and still standing on the spot.

As our kind hostesses were too heavenly-minded to descend into the lower regions, we took leave of them with many thanks, and placed ourselves under the guidance of a male domestic, who led the way to the back part of the convent where was the approach to the subterranean gallery. We went down a flight of thirty rude steps, and then, by the aid of candles, found ourselves in a broad and high arcade. After advancing a little way, we came to another flight of steps, about a dozen, on the left hand, and leading down to some standing water. The gallery was 18 feet wide, and ran by the compass in a south-east direction. The roof was an arch, not like that under *El Aksa* with an angle where it springs from the wall, but curving gradually without any break. Here and there were apertures in the roof, but whether intentional or broken by accident, I cannot say. The ground beneath our feet was very uneven from the heaps of a black earth which appeared to have forced its way through the

apertures above. I had not a level with me, but my impression is that throughout there was a very sensible descent toward the south-east. We proceeded a considerable distance, when we were stopped by water, but I believe the tunnel reaches all the way to the Serai at the north-west corner of the Haram. What could have been the object of this extended vault? From the height of the débris which covers it above, and on which the Roman arch had been built, it can scarcely be doubted that it belonged to the ancient city. It could not have been intended as a conduit, for its proportions are too large, and there was nowhere the least trace of cement. Besides, so far as I could judge, it was far from being on a level. Is it possible that it was constructed for military purposes, and afforded a communication between the citadel at the north-west corner of the Haram and the exterior of the city through the Cotton Grotto, which has its outlet under the wall near the corner of Bezetha?

We emerged from this Tartarean exploration, and walked down to the Wailing-place. At the north end of it is a little inclosed court at the south of the Mekhimeh or Town Hall. When at the Wailing-place before, I had found the door closed and could not procure access, but I now saw a woman going in, and on uttering the magic word *Bakshish*, my Arabic *Open Sesame*, we were invited in. On the north of the court was a chamber which contained nothing remarkable, except that the stones of the Haram wall on the east side were continued on from the Wailing-place, and were in exceedingly good preservation. I wished to see the Mekhimeh Pool, which I knew must lie to the north, at the foot of the Haram wall. I therefore clambered over some stores against the winter, and groped my

way through a second narrow chamber, and then a third, and on the north side of the latter was an open window or door which looked down upon the pool. I threw down a stone, and there was no water at the bottom, but apparently some soft mud. I dare say I could have procured a light and examined the pool, but as it had been fully described by Tobler¹ and Barclay,² I did not think it worth while. The length along the Haram wall is 84 feet, and the breadth 42 feet. It is evident, from what I have stated, that there is here no solid embankment or earthwork leading across the valley from the Haram to Sion. The elevation of Temple Street, from the Sinsileh Gate towards the west, is supported by the vaults beneath, which are of no great antiquity, as is evidenced by the Saracenic character of the arches. The vaults, however, to the west (for there is a series of them), I did not explore. On returning to the court, I found three or four Jews standing about, and one of them (the most respectable, as I heard afterwards, of all his people) was particularly attentive, and showed me round the exterior of the building, which consists below of the vaults before referred to, and of the Mekhimeh or Town Hall above. The walls externally are of bevelled stones, but either very rude and modern-looking, or else not *in situ*. They formed a striking contrast to the magnificent and highly-wrought stones of the Haram wall. At the back or west, in particular, any air of antiquity was wholly wanting.

My friend was not with us, and that I might not be thought to neglect him, I shook hands with Dr. Sandretzski at his own door and returned to the hotel. 3 P.M.

¹ Dritte Wand, p. 222.

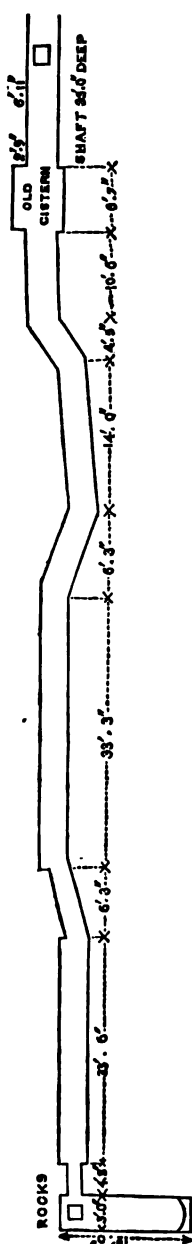
² City of Great King, p. 538.

was the hour agreed upon for the rendez-vous at Mr. Barclay's, and we walked over to the manse and found there Mr. Barclay himself, and the Rev. Mr. Bailey and Dr. Chaplin, the English physician. Thus the three learned professions were assembled—the two B.'s representing the Church, Dr. Chaplin Physic, and my friend and myself the Law. After the usual greetings, we went along a passage of the house leading southward, and at the end of it was the mouth of the well which had been hermetically sealed for twenty-one years, and had now been again opened for our gratification. The orifice was not very attractive : men of ten stone might squeeze through, but men of fourteen could not. I was myself of about twelve. At the mouth of the hole was a plank laid flat, and fastened to it was a rope ladder dropped down the well, and supposed to touch the bottom, which was thirty-three feet deep. The whole management was in the hands of Mr. Schick, the architect who had built the church, and had made the original discovery. He declined to go down himself, as he had lately caught a fever, and was apprehensive of catching another, but had no objection to our doing so. Mr. Barclay, whose figure was slight, put himself first upon the rope ladder, and disappeared from the upper regions. In two or three minutes afterwards, we heard a voice from below, announcing his safe arrival. Dr. Chaplin and Allcard followed with equal ease, and then throwing off my coat I dropped myself down. It was a very tight fit, and as much as I could do to worm myself through the neck of the bottle, but succeeded at last ; and on descending down a few steps, I was delighted to find that the dimensions of the shaft suddenly expanded, and I encountered no further difficulty. When we were all down—viz., our five selves and three supernumeraries,

who were allowed to avail themselves of an opportunity which might never occur again—we commenced our exploration, every one of course with a candle in his hand. We first paced along eastward. The culvert was a little higher than the head, and therefore I should say about six feet high, and was broad enough to allow a single person to pass, but not (except occasionally) to allow two persons to pass one other. The roof was not arched, but covered with flat stones, and at intervals were openings as if for a bucket to be let down for water. There were frequent stalactites formed by the drip through the limestone soil, but they were very soft, and crumbled in the hand. The sides had originally been cemented, and in some places the cement remained. We advanced a considerable distance in the eastern direction (200 or 300 feet), until all further progress was blocked up by the irruption of the soil from above. We now faced about, and groped our way westward, and, as I afterwards learned, to the extent of about 116 feet. In one place, and perhaps in others, the cutting was through the solid rock. At the end of this reach, we came to a low and narrow passage, which we crept through, and then the culvert made a sharp turn to the left, but did not reach far when it was terminated by a wall built across it. This part, before the erection of the church, lay directly under a baker's shop, which stood a few yards in front of the fosse of the castle; and when the first discoverers had penetrated thus far, the baker above, hearing some unearthly voices coming up with a hollow sepulchral sound from below, imagined that Satan had come at last to carry him off, and bolted in the wildest dismay into the street. One of the attendants suggested that we must not remain long, or we should become giddy, by which, I suppose, was

meant that we should have consumed all the vital air. I am not scientific enough to know how long a culvert of this kind, 33 feet under ground, would support eight persons and eight candles, but we had no desire to be the victims of 'a black hole' even on the holy hill of Sion, and we began to ascend. There was no difficulty with any one but the stoutest. On reaching the top of the ladder, I could not, with all my might, squeeze myself through. I was a reel in a bottle, and the only wonder was how I had got there. Had it depended on my own unaided exertions, I could not possibly have extricated myself. But these things are understood at Jerusalem, and the two men who stood above at the mouth directed me to throw my arms over my head, so as to reduce the breadth of the body, and then laying hold of my hands they dragged me through. It was 'high pressure,' and the bottoms of my waistcoat were started. The mortar used for the shaft had been of the best quality, for it stuck so fast to my garments that I could not detach it. The scourers, I am told, held a high debate over the matter. A heavy fall would account for the plaster on one side, but how could it have been so rubbed in on both sides! Mr. Barclay now produced an excellent bottle of sherry and some biscuits, and the refreshment after the heat below was most acceptable. Mr. Schick was kind enough a day or two afterwards to send me the following measurements of the western arm of the well, and I can only regret that the survey of the eastern had not also been made. (*See next page*).

The conduit which we had explored possesses some historical interest. When Paul claimed to have a good conscience, the high-priest Ananias commanded the bystanders to smite him on the mouth for his insolence,



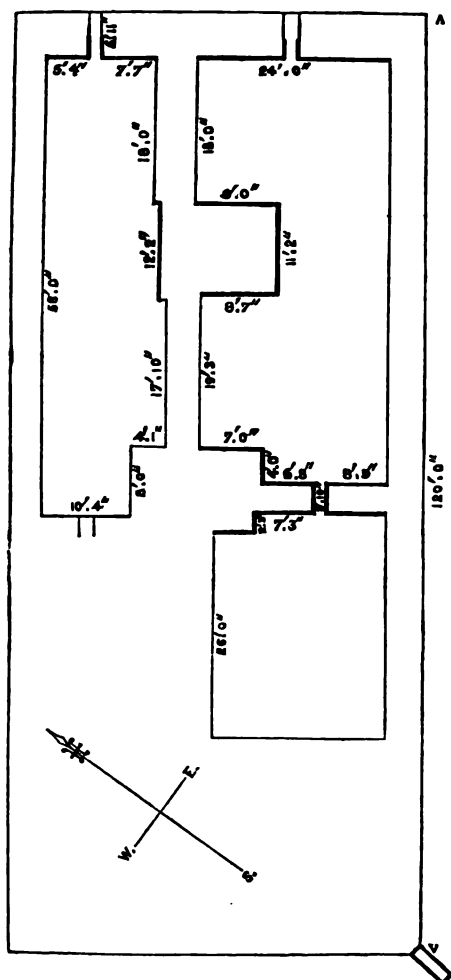
and the apostle, stung by the affront, pronounced the prophetic words, 'God shall *smite thee*, thou whited wall!' In the last days of Jerusalem, just before the capture of the city by Titus, when the city was rent by factions, the enemies of the high-priest rose up against him and fired his palace in the upper city, and he escaped into the Palace of Herod, now represented by the Castle of David. The palace was besieged and taken, and the High Priest, as a last resource, let himself down into the conduit,¹ and the following day was dragged out and assassinated, as Paul had predicted, by the poniards of the Sicarii. The palace above has disappeared, but the underground culvert still remains. Another scene connected with the same locality was enacted a short time afterwards. When Titus carried Jerusalem by assault, Simon Bar-Gioras, who had so bravely defended it, sought shelter in an underground passage (probably the conduit which we had traversed) in the High Town, hoping to work his way by spade and pickaxe to the exterior of the city. This was found impracticable, and Simon, who had entered the conduit on the summit of Sion, rose from

¹ περὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀλῆς εὗριπον.—
Bell. ii. 17, 9.

the ground like a ghost at dead of night, on the spot where the Temple had stood on Mount Moriah. It is said that to this day the conduit reaches all across Sion to the Haram, but the course of it cannot be traced beyond the distance of 200 or 300 feet.

Tuesday, 7th October.—This morning I went again with the dragoman to Kalah-el-Jalûd, or the Giant's Castle, with the view of measuring the northern vault, as I had before done the southern. The dragoman applied at the consul's house for the key, and this time succeeded in obtaining it. We unlocked the rickety door of the northern vault, and found within it a chamber nearly 60 feet long and 12 feet wide, well garnished with pendent cobwebs and other accompaniments of a stable, for which it was used. On the east side, by which we had entered, the walls contained four or five courses of ancient bevelled stones, and about the middle of the south side stones of the same character reached along for about twelve feet. The other walls were of the rubble-work which constituted the mass of the building. At the farther end was a passage which probably led into another chamber beyond, but it was blocked up by rubbish, and we could not follow it. The relative sites and dimensions of the two vaults will be seen from the accompanying sketch. Where the proportional lengths of the lines and the figures are at variance, the latter, as believed to be correct, must be followed. I measured the distance from the centre of the northern entrance leading to the one vault, to the centre of the southern entrance leading to the other vault, and found it 24 feet. This, with the other measurements, will give the relative positions of the ancient remains. The dark lines denote the part where the ancient bevelled stones are

found. The projection at the southern corner marks the position of the ancient bevelled stones running diagonally into the building. It may seem strange



that I should have bestowed so much time and trouble upon this old ruin; but in fact it forms an important landmark. Josephus tells us that the third wall, after running some way northward from Hippicus, turned

eastward at the tower Psephinus, which was the grandest tower of all, and was octagonal. As all the other towers were of a different form, namely square, should it appear that Kalah-el-Jalûd is octagonal, the enigma of the third wall would be at once solved. I am not architect enough to say whether the ground plan annexed furnished the elements of any particular configuration; but I think no one can doubt that here once stood a tower of very unusual dimensions, and I entertain little doubt myself that this tower was Psephinus.

After breakfast my friend, who was a good horseman, set off with the dragoman for a ride to Nebi Samwil, whence a good view could be obtained over Palestine, but not, as I afterwards learned, equal to that which we had already enjoyed from Scopus. As Jerusalem had been the principal object of my tour, and only one day more remained to me, I preferred strolling by myself about the city to a distant ride. I started for the Damascus Gate, and going a little way out of it, turned to the left and looked at the rather singular rock which rises at the distance of about a furlong from the city wall, and standing about as far west from the north road as the rock containing the grotto of Jeremiah stands east of it. I thought it possible that the third wall might have run over this rock in its eastern course, but I could not observe any fragment of masonry or escarpments of the rock that offered any encouragement to the surmise. On the eastern side towards the northern end were one or two caves, which might have been ancient sepulchres or excavations of greater extent, but, being alone, I did not think it prudent to explore them. I walked round the rock and returned to the Damascus Gate, and then

mounted upon the western wall and walked along it to the north-west corner, keeping a look out for any remains of an ancient tower by the way, but could see none, and am satisfied that the ruinous tower represented in Traill's 'Josephus' as some way to the west of the Damascus Gate, can be no other than that on the western side of the Damascus Gate itself. After luncheon, I thought it a good opportunity of refreshing my memory by visiting some of the most interesting localities, and walked down David Street and Temple Street, and, turning along a lane to the right, came by a zigzag route to the Wailing-place. It was quite deserted, and I could examine the stones at leisure. The bevel and workmanship of the stones are peculiar and are found only in this part and at the corners of the Haram, and in the excavations for the new Russian consulate. I made a circuit round the buildings to the west of the Wailing-place, and took the road leading to the Dung Gate. At the south-west corner of the Haram I looked at the bearing of the bridge, as to what part of Sion it would strike if continued across the valley, and I found that it would strike the opposite hill just north of the two arches seen in the view given in Traill's 'Josephus,' vol. ii. p. 204. Sion in that part, either artificially or naturally, descends toward the north, lowering itself as if to meet the bridge. According to Josephus, when Titus had captured the first or outer and the second or middle wall, and also the Temple, so that only Sion, enclosed by the first wall, remained, the Romans threw up mounds against Sion, 'at the Xyst, and thence at the bridge and Tower of Simon.'¹ The Xyst and the bridge and the tower were therefore contiguous, so that the Xyst lay wholly on the north

¹ κατὰ τὸν Ξυστὸν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν γέφυραν καὶ τὸν Σίμωνος πύργον.
— *Bell.* vi. 8, 1.

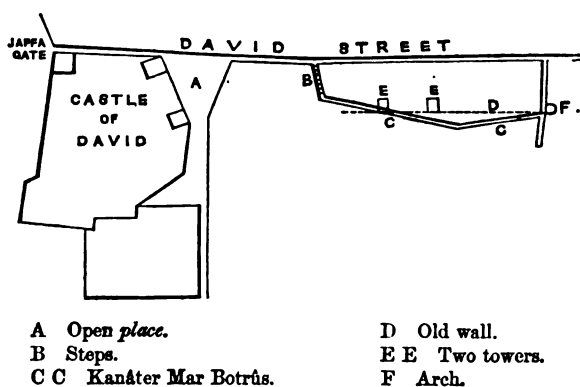
side of the bridge, and the Tower of Simon would, of course, be at the end of the bridge on the south side. I made my exit from the city by the Dung Gate, and wandered along the southern wall of the El Aksa gardens, and satisfied myself that the layers of ancient bevelled stones lie not only along the southern wall, but also along the eastern. I followed the path from the south-east corner of the Haram to St. Stephen's Gate, and saw by the way many groups of Mahomedans wailing and mourning round the graves of their relations and friends, in the cemetery under the wall. During all my ramble I had met with no obstruction or insult, and walked about as little noticed as if I had been in England. It will be remembered, however, that I did not anywhere venture beyond the beaten track.

Wednesday, 8th October.—This morning we had no fixed plans, and again strolled down to the Wailing-place. It is an oblong open space, having the wall of the Haram on the east; a common wall, seven or eight feet high on the west; a little court-yard belonging to the Mekhimeh, or Town Hall, on the north; and another little court-yard attached to the house of Abu Send Effendi, on the south. As we scanned the wall from end to end, the door of the little court to the south opened, and a negro of the lowest class, whose further acquaintance we desired not, issued forth; but within were seen two female domestics, one of them a pretty black-eyed girl of about twenty. I had been longing to obtain access to the court, and seizing on the opportunity, and shouting 'Bakshish,' was, of course, admitted. The coin which I gave, about a shilling, was intended as a pass for my friend as well as for myself, but the pair of black eyes saw that something more could be had, and levied black-mail from my companion also. The object of my curiosity was

this. Josephus mentions that on the west of the Temple (a square of 600 feet) were four gateways. One of them, of course, conducted to the bridge, of which the fragments still remain at the south-west corner of the Haram. Dr. Barclay, of America, mentions the discovery of another gateway about 270 feet more to the north, viz. at the southern end of the Wailing-place, and has given a picture of it in the 'City of the Great King,' p. 489. Immediately on entering the court I recognised in the wall of the Haram the venerable remain in question. The bevelled stones along the Wailing-place here all at once ended, and instead of them was a massive stone which was, no doubt, anciently the lintel of the gateway. It is, according to Barclay, 22 feet 2 inches long, and 6 feet 9 inches high, but the greater part of it is hid by the house of the Effendi on the south, and four feet only of it are above ground. In the interior of the Haram, above this relic, is a vaulted chamber, called El Borak, where Mahomet is said to have tied his mule when he started for Paradise; and this, no doubt, is the exit of the flight of steps which here led up to the Temple. Barclay has favoured us with a view of El Borak also (p. 490), and if the reader will take the trouble to compare it with the view of the double passage under El Aksa (Traill's 'Josephus,' vol. ii. p. 122), he will see that the two arches, in their curve and general style, are precisely the same, so that both are attributable to the same age. The passage to the Huldah Gate is, unquestionably, the southern approach to the Temple, and, if so, the remains at the southern end of the Wailing-place must be one of the four entrances from the west. The Gallery under El Aksa is about eighteen feet wide and twelve feet high, and the vault leading from the Wailing-place may be

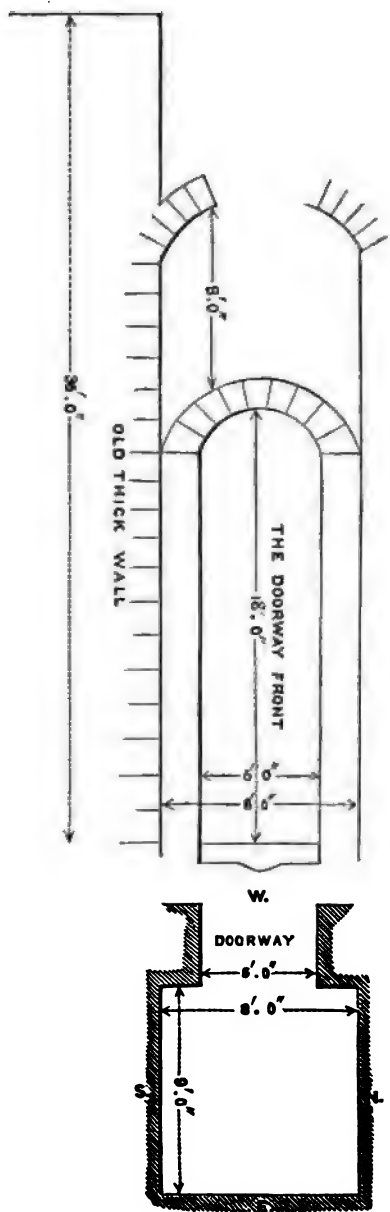
assumed to have been of the same proportions ; and, if so, as the lintel at the Wailing-place is two feet under ground, and the floor of the gateway was twelve feet below that, we may take fourteen feet as the depth the accumulated rubbish in this part of the Tyropœon.

After breakfast Mr. Barclay called upon me, and we walked out to see an excavation which had led to some interesting discoveries. As you enter the Jaffa Gate from the west and advance eastward, you pass on the



right first the Castle of David ; then the open ‘Place’ which serves as a market to the country people ; then the house of Mr. Berghem, the banker, at the corner formed by David Street and the Place ; and a little further down you mount a flight of steps on the right hand, and ascend into a back street, Kanâter Mar Botrûs, which runs parallel to David Street, but with a bend in the middle toward the south ; and at the eastern end of Kanâter Mar Botrûs, which may be about 400 feet long, it is crossed by another street running up from David Street in a southern direction. On the plot of ground lying between this back street and David Street a house is now in the course of

erection for Dr. Chaplin, the English physician. The construction is under the superintendence of Mr. Schick, the experienced architect, and to him I am indebted for the following information. In excavating what he called 'the cliff of Sion,' that is the part next to and on the north of Kanâter Mar Botrûs, they came to a cistern lined with cement, but on further clearance, it was found that what had anciently been used as a cistern had, in still more remote times, been a tower, measuring in the interior eight feet from north to south, and nine feet from east to west, and on the west side was a gateway five feet wide, with a round arch at the height of eighteen feet from the floor of the tower. The whole depth of the floor from the level of the street above was thirty-six feet. (See the accompanying section and ground plan.) At the distance of sixty-four feet to the east was found another tower which corresponded, with the exception that it had no gateway, but projecting stones in the interior as if for supporting a staircase. Between the two towers, and on the south of them, ran a massive wall. I examined the wall, and it consisted of large stones, but not at all equal in size to those at the corners of the Haram, and not bevelled. What was the thickness of the wall I do not recollect to have heard, but it must have been very considerable, for Mr. Schick, finding no other foundation, proceeded to build the wall of the house upon it. This led to a contest between the architect and the civic authorities, for this old wall, instead of taking exactly the line of the street, projected a few feet southward into it, so that the thoroughfare would be proportionally curtailed by carrying the new wall along the same line. However, the want of any other solid foundation was strongly urged, and eventually the new wall was allowed to rest



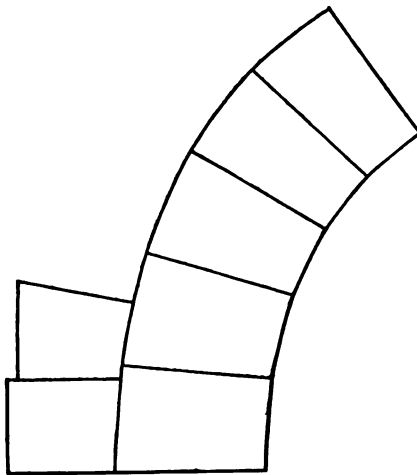
The upper sketch gives the elevation, the horizontal line at the top representing the level of the present street. The lower sketch gives the ground plan of the tower. It appears from a note by Mr. Schick, that the bottom of the tower is 12 feet below the surface of David Street, on the north; and as the surface of Kaniter Mar Borids, on the south, is 36 feet above the bottom of the tower, it follows that Kaniter Mar Borids, or Sion, is at present 24 feet above David Street, or the Tyropson valley.

on the back of the old one. To the north of the towers the ground was excavated to a depth of ten feet more, but no rock appeared, but 'only very small stones, looking like the filling up of a trench.' Here, then, we seem to have the old first wall of Sion flanked with towers sixty-four feet apart, and overhanging the Tyropœon valley on the north. Mr. Schick has no classical knowledge, and is perfectly innocent of Josephus, and his words that the valley was filled up with 'only very small stones, looking like the filling up of a trench,' are very remarkable, as the Jewish historian particularly mentions that when Titus had taken the first and second walls he cast up two mounds against the upper city, one by the Pool of Hezekiah, then called the Almond Pool, and the other at the distance from the first of thirty cubits, or forty-five feet,¹ and if, as is likely, the second mound was forty-five to the east of the other, its position would coincide with the part of the valley where these 'small stones,' as if 'for the filling up of a trench,' were noticed by Mr. Schick. At first sight it may appear singular that, if this was the Wall of Sion the gate of the tower should turn toward the west, but a little reflection will furnish the explanation. To the north of the wall was a deep valley, and no direct approach was practicable. The road, therefore, was brought up the valley in a slanting direction, and so came to the side of the tower, and the west side was chosen as the most convenient for the traffic along the thoroughfare now occupied by the Jaffa Gate.

At the eastern end of the back street called Kanâter Mar Botrûs, and in the opposite wall of the cross street which runs up from David Street southward, is another

¹ Bell. v. 11, 4.

remain of no less interest than those which I have described. It is part of an arch which must once have spanned a road leading from west to east. Five or six stones only are seen above ground, measuring 2 feet 7 inches high and 2 feet 3 inches wide. They once formed the northern spring of an arch, and two or three stones of the original wall still adhere to them on the north. None of the stones are bevelled. The accompanying sketch will convey an idea of the fragment, but no claim is made to architectural accuracy.



I should say, from my recollection of the bearings, that, if the wall between the two towers before referred to were continued eastward, it would strike the southern base of the arch if completed, that is, the approach to the gate from the west was along the north of the wall; and the circumstance that the gateway is turned westward is to be accounted for as before, viz. by the necessity of having an incline up the side of the valley so as to break the ascent. The wall, therefore, after

touching the southern foot of the arch, would continue its course eastward from the northern foot of the arch. The fact that neither in the wall nor in the arch are the stones bevelled, would lead one to suppose that we have here the remains of the ancient Jebus, for there can be little doubt that the bevel was first introduced by the Tyrian artists in the reigns of David and Solomon. The arch has a very rude and cyclopean appearance. Those who follow Mr. Williams will say that the gate, whether a remnant of Jebus or not, is certainly the gate Gennath, mentioned by Josephus, and from which the second wall took its commencement. My own opinion would be that the *second* wall *originally* started from about this point, but afterwards from a point more to the west, for Hezekiah built 'another wall without' (viz. more to the west), so as to bring the Pool of Hezekiah within the city, and the gate Gennath, from which the second wall commenced in the time of Josephus, must therefore have stood opposite the south-west corner of the pool. As regards the *first* wall round the High Town, the remains of the wall and the two towers recently discovered lead to the inference that, starting from Hippicus on the south side of the Jaffa Gate, the wall ran due east to Phasaelus (now the tower miscalled Hippicus); then turned a little southward to Mariamne, the site of which is now occupied by the third tower of David's Castle; then deflected eastward along or by the side of the back street called Kanâter Mar Botrûs, at the end of which was a gate; and then continued its course eastward to the Haram. It is evident, from several passages in Josephus, that the three towers, Hippicus, Phasaclus, and Mariamne, were all on the crest of Sion, and yet all in the line of the first wall.

At the corner formed by Kanâter Mar Botrûs, on the

south, and the cross street which cuts the eastern end of it, are a series of vaults, lying east and west, and occupying for some distance what was once the Tyropæon valley. They are said to be of no great antiquity, but I had not the opportunity of exploring them. They may be approached through the shop or warehouse which stands at the angle opposite the old arch described above.

Mr. Barclay mentioned that at the south-east of Sion, but within the walls, a discovery had been recently made of some immense stones, which might have formed part of the ancient line of fortification. I expressed a great desire to see them, and we walked together to the Sion Gate, and then turned to the left at the back of the Lepers' huts, until we reached the re-entering angle of the city wall, the second from the Dung Gate. Here were a number of workmen engaged in the erection of a building connected with the Jews, and, if I recollect right, an Inquirers' Home. There are always at Jerusalem a considerable number of Jews who feel a leaning towards Christianity, but are not so satisfied of its truths as to declare themselves converts. They wish for time to examine into its evidences, but meanwhile are too poor to support themselves. They are, therefore, admitted into an Inquirers' Home, and are there made acquainted with the rudiments of the new religion; and if at the end of a certain term they are convinced of its truths they openly embrace it, but if on the contrary they cannot make the required confession they depart in peace.

On arriving at the spot, we questioned the workmen where these ancient stones could be seen, when they led us down the slope near to the city wall, and showed us the mouth of a well! Mr. Barclay could speak, to some

extent at least, in Arabic and Hebrew and Italian, and all these tongues came up in succession, but somehow or other we found ourselves at cross purposes. Were there stones at the bottom of the well? Yes. Were they great stones? Yes; as big as that, and they stretched out their arms. Were the stones bevelled? Yes. We drew a bevelled stone on the ground, and asked if they were like that? Yes; like that. It seemed to us very extraordinary that not only should Truth reside at the bottom of a well, but that she should have a goodly mansion there. However, it was evident that by their bringing us to the well, and pointing down it, something, whatever it might be, was there concealed. We therefore agreed to explore it, and a rope and rope-ladder were soon brought. The look of the rope-ladder was not very promising, as two of the steps were gone, and one side was so old and chafed that I doubted whether it would hold the weight of a man. The separate rope was to be fastened round the body for letting down or hauling up, as might be required. We dropped a stone down the well, and found it was 40 or 50 feet deep, and as the rope-ladder was only 25 feet, we expressed our dissatisfaction with the apparatus, and they went for another rope-ladder. While they were gone, I let down the rope into the well, and found it 45 feet deep, and as water was at the bottom we still could not conceive what curiosities the well could contain. It was some time before the new ladder was brought, and we retired for shade into one of the embrasures of the wall. At length a second ladder made its appearance, and proved to be a very strong and substantial one, but it was only 25 feet long. The two ladders, therefore, were spliced together and let down the well, and reached to the bottom. A man was now

sent down, and a plank let down after him. I was in hopes that the plank might have remained above, and the ladder be fastened to it: but no! one of the men held the end of the ladder in his hand, and knelt upon it, and this was considered sufficient security. Mr. Barclay, who is quite an adept at diving into wells, was tied by the rope and descended, and soon shouted his arrival in the nether regions. The rope was then fastened round myself, not, as I expected, just under the arms, but about my middle, so that in case of accident I should have swung like the Golden Fleece. I got upon the ladder and descended also. For about the first 15 feet it was an ordinary well, just large enough to allow a person to pass without difficulty, but after that I found myself in the air in the midst of a spacious cavern. On coming to the bottom, the man who was there ready hauled me like a bale of goods at the end of a crane on one side, and landed me upon the plank which had been placed across the water. We now explored this subterranean abyss, and found it to be an enormous cistern. It was supported by massive pillars, about 12 feet square. The roof was arched, and both roof and sides were, or had been, covered with cement. The ground, where free from water, was a fine black mould, gaping with great cracks. Here and there were recesses or cells on the side, and in one of them we found a skeleton. Some poor fellow had fallen, or been thrown in, and had crept into this corner to die. At one end of the excavation was a gradual ascent, which had originally led to the light of day, but the earth had fallen in and choked it up. I observed here layers of Roman tiles, and what, I believe, is not usual, the layers of tiles were equal in thickness to those of the stones. The length of the reservoir in one direction

was 50 paces, or about 150 feet, and the height say 30 feet. There were no stalactites, or at least I did not notice any. We now remounted the rope-ladder, and a person not accustomed to gymnastic exercises might have found some difficulty, as where the steps of the ladder had disappeared it was necessary to climb. As it was, I was thankful for the assistance of the rope round my middle. Whoever held it above used it very judiciously, as, without any unpleasant tightness, it took off so much gravitation as to make me feel quite young again. For what purpose was this ancient cistern made? Certainly for the mansion of some important personage, and in the time of the Herodian dynasty. This would appear also from the numerous *tesserae* which we picked up on the surface above. I should imagine that the reservoir belonged to the house of the High Priest Ananias, which, according to Josephus, stood on Mount Sion, and so far as can be collected, on this part of it. The great stones, which we had come to see, had, as we ascertained afterwards, been built over, and were no longer visible. They were no doubt the foundations of some splendid edifice to which the cistern beneath had been an adjunct. I returned to the hotel and rejoined my friend.

There were still two places of interest which we had not seen—the Tombs of the Prophets and the Well of Job. After luncheon, we marched out of St. Stephen's Gate, crossed the Cedron, and turned to the right at Mount Olivet, and near the top and about opposite the south-east corner of the Haram, we came all at once upon the Tombs of the Prophets. They were not distinguished by any projecting rock or any monumental edifice, but we stepped down into a shallow basin and crawled upon hands and knees under a low arched

opening, and found ourselves at the entrance of a long straight passage. It was crossed successively by two concentric galleries about 10 feet high and 5 feet wide, each curving inward toward the entrance. On the further side of the second gallery were about thirty loculi. There were other subordinate branches running off from the principal galleries, and of a similar character. The tombs were quite open, and no one to guard them or even to demand bakshish, save that two needy mendicants had seen us from a distance and waylaid our exit. The question is, who had been here interred? Certainly not the Prophets or the Apostles, to whom tradition would assign them. We may hazard the conjecture that they were the Mausoleum of the Kings of Judah. What are commonly called the Tombs of the Kings have been identified as those of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, and her family; and if we except the Tombs of the Judges, which are too far away, there are no sepulchres about Jerusalem which at all rival the Tombs of the Prophets for extent and importance. Below them, on Mount Olivet, is the great cemetery of the Jews, and thousands of tumuli cover the ground down to the very base of Olivet; and the reflection occurred to me, that if the Kings found their resting-place near the summit, their subjects occupied their natural position in the lower and humble tumuli upon the slope of Olivet below.

From these Tombs we pursued a south-western course to the village of Siloam, and crossed the ravine of Cedron by the bridge, and passed along the eastern base of Ophel to its termination below the fountain of Siloam. As we approached the point we looked down with admiration upon the flourishing gardens on the left in the valley of Jchoshaphat. The stream of Siloam

was running into one of them, which had the privilege for the hour of these fertilizing waters, and some women, as it flowed, were washing their clothes in it. I never looked at this little miniature river without wondering, in such a thirsty land, whence such a perpetual and plentiful rill could be supplied.

We advanced southward to the bottom of the valley, and arrived at the well of Job. Two men were employed in drawing water, with alternate buckets of hog-skin, from a depth, it was said, of 100 feet. I tasted the water, and remarked nothing more than its softness. This was unquestionably the Enrogel of the Old Testament, where, in the summer-house attached to the king's gardens, Adonijah, the insidious son of David, was carousing with Joab and the other conspirators when Queen Bathsheba and the prophet Nathan laid the plot before the aged monarch ; and, on the spur of the moment, Solomon, the rival heir to the throne, was hurried down to Gihon and there proclaimed king. The shouts of the multitude reached to Enrogel, when the dastardly company shrunk away from the idol they had just worshipped, and left Adonijah alone at the mercy of the opposite faction. Enrogel was said to be 'the stone of Zohemoth (of worms)' by which must be meant the precipitous side of the hill of Evil counsel, full of sepulchres, once occupied by carcasses the food for worms, whence the name Zohemoth ; but no rock was particularly conspicuous. We walked, on our return, up the valley of Jehoshaphat, still looking for any signs of the first wall, but could see none.

Thursday, 9th October.—To-day was a series of petty disappointments. We had intended to make one day's journey from Jerusalem to Jaffa, and had given directions to be called at 4 A.M. Instead of that, we were

not called till nearly six, and, after packing-up and breakfasting, did not mount our horses till 8 A.M. Again, our dragoman had assured us, in the most positive manner, that our luggage would not be examined at the gate, but no sooner had we passed out, than the custom-house officers surrounded us, and insisted that the whole of our luggage must come down from the mule, and be brought into the little court in front of the douane. This was extremely vexatious, as time was important, and we were satisfied that, after all, it would be a farce. We bakshished the officials, and on merely opening the trunk and bag, they became so clear-sighted as to perceive at once, without disturbing anything, that there was nothing contraband. This caused us half an hour's delay, and did not sweeten our tempers. The descent down the mountains and along the ravines and gorges, was almost as irksome as the ascent had been. The only incident on the road was coming upon a dead camel. It seems that if a camel by any accident stumble and fall under its load, it almost invariably breaks a leg, and dies, or is killed. The eagles sat upon the points of rocks, as if to have their portraits taken, waiting, no doubt, till we had passed, to renew their carnival. A gentleman whom I afterwards met on board, told me that when his party came to the carcass, a whole host of eagles were collected about it, and that on a gun being fired, the air was almost darkened by the cloud that rose to the sky. At the foot of the mountains we rested for about twenty minutes, and then improved our pace across the plain; but I had strained myself by some of my freaks at Jerusalem, and could not canter or trot without pain. We were nearing Ramlah when our dragoman communicated to us, in the coolest way, that we could not reach Jaffa before sunset, and

that neither love nor money would procure us admission after nightfall, so that we must stop at Ramlah. This upset our whole plan, and with it our philosophy, and made us extremely wroth. We rated our dragoon roundly on his want of management, and he was so saucy, that my friend threatened if he did not hold his tongue to knock him off his horse. However, there was no help for it, and we must pass the night at Ramlah. We arrived there about 4 P.M., and, having had enough of Mr. Wyatt's hospitality, we determined on trying the convent. This was a lucky move, as we experienced better accommodation there than anywhere else in Palestine. We were shown into a double-bedded room, with a comfortable sofa and musquitocurtains, and an active, intelligent monk performed the ceremonies to admiration. We were to have dined at six, but we got nothing to eat till about eight, which was caused by successive arrivals, including, it was said, no less a personage than a prince, and I suspect that he had our dinner. There was also a party of French nuns going up to Jerusalem to the French convent, and some French architects, who were bound for the same place, for the reparation of the dome of the Holy Sepulchre conjointly with the Russians. There were also two or three monks upon their pilgrimage to the Holy City. Dinner was served at last, and we sat down in the refectory with the nuns, architects, and friars, and thoroughly enjoyed the fare, homely as it was. The nuns were very merry, and after dinner the holy friars smoked a cigar with us with no little apparent relish.

Friday, 10th October.—Called at four and started at five, and about eight reached Jaffa, and after going through the farce of having our luggage not examined

but looked into by the light of bakshish, we embarked on board the Austrian Lloyd's steamer the Stamboul, for Alexandria, and so closed our little fortnight's tour in Palestine.

We arrived at Alexandria late on October 11, and after visiting Cairo, the Pyramids, and Suez, set sail from Alexandria on October 19 by the Peninsular and Oriental boat the Euxine, reached Malta on the 22nd, Marseilles on the 25th, and Paris, by railway, on the 26th. On the 28th I was in London, so that from the time of starting from Dover, on August 26, to my return on October 27, was nine weeks and a day. The expenses (excluding presents) were 150*l.* each.

PART III.



A SKETCH OF JERUSALEM

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE SIEGE BY TITUS

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CHAPTER I.

JERUSALEM, FROM THE EARLIEST NOTICES TO THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY.

THE first notice of Jerusalem is in the time of Abraham. The King of Shinar and his confederates had captured Sodom and Gomorrah, and carried away Lot, Abraham's brother's son, when Abraham, collecting his train-bands, followed after the enemy and rescued Lot, and on his return, 'At the Valley of Shaveh, which is the *King's Vale*, Melchizedek, King of *Salem*, the prophet of the Most High God, blessed Abram.'¹ The King's Vale was the valley of Jehoshaphat,² and Jerusalem, therefore, called at that time Salem, was the scene of the interview between Abraham and Melchizedek. Salem was, probably, at this period the principal or capital city of the Amorites, with whom it is mentioned that Abraham was confederate.³ If so, Melchizedek, as King of Salem, was the organ or mouthpiece of the Amorite community, to make their acknowledgments to Abraham for the signal deliverance which he had wrought for them. Well might the apostle say, 'Consider how great this man (Melchizedek) was,

¹ Gen. xiv. 17.

² 2 Sam. xviii. 18; Jos. Ant. vii. 10, 3.

³ Gen. xiv. 13.

unto whom even the patriarch Abraham gave the tenth of the spoils.¹

Abraham afterwards offered his well-known sacrifice on Mount Moriah, and it was a tradition amongst the Jews so far back at least as the second book of Chronicles, that Moriah was the mount on which the Temple of Solomon was afterwards erected, for 'Solomon began to build the House of the Lord at Jerusalem in Mount Moriah.'² The place of sacrifice was called Jehovah-Jireh (יהוה יראה), 'God will provide,' from the words of the Patriarch, 'God will provide himself a lamb for a burnt offering;'³ and from the word Jireh, coupled with Salem, the compound name Jerusalem is supposed to have originated. The Hebrew name ירושלים has the dualistic form, signifying Twin-Jerusalem, as if the city were a combination of two cities on the two hills, the western and eastern.⁴

On the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt we find distinct mention made of Jerusalem by that name, and what is singular, the sacred character of the place again appears in the name of the King Adonizedek. Melchizedek was the King of Righteousness, and Adonizedek is the Lord of Righteousness.⁵ Jerusalem would thus appear, from the earliest times, to have been the seat of the primeval pure religion. Jerusalem still retained its ancient preeminence over all the other cities of Palestine, for of the five Kings of the Amorites who leagued themselves together against Joshua, Adonizedek, King of Jerusalem, stands at the head of the list. 'The King of Jerusalem, the King of Hebron,

¹ Hebrews vii. 4.

² 2 Chron. iii. 1.

³ Gen. xxii. 8, 14.

⁴ Others, however, suppose Jerusalem to be a compound of Jebus and Salem, softened *euphonia gratiâ*, into Jerusalem.

⁵ Joshua x. 1.

the King of Jarmuth, the King of Lachish, the King of Eglon.¹

Jerusalem was never captured by the Israelites in the time of Joshua ; but it is stated in the book of Judges that after the death of Joshua ‘the children of Judah fought against Jerusalem, and took it, and smote it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire.’² Josephus, however, understands this to apply only to the suburbs,³ and not to the main city, the stronghold upon the hill, now called Sion, and surrounded upon all sides by steep precipices. Either the capture was of this limited character, or if the Israelites were ever masters of the whole city they soon lost it again.

We now approach an important epoch in the history of Jerusalem — the period when it became the capital of the Hebrew monarchy. Throughout the dynasty of the Judges, and the reign of Saul, and for seven years of the reign of David, Salem, or Jerusalem, had, with little or no interruption, maintained its liberties. It was held at this time by the Jebusites, from whom it was also called Jebus. This exemption from the common fate was owing to its singularly strong position. The mount or hill on which it stood was a broad plateau of rock, surrounded on all sides by ravines. On the west and south was the great valley of Hinnom, which beginning at the north-west corner of Jebus, deepened as it descended southward and then eastward, until it became a tremendous and impassable chasm. On the north and east ran the subordinate valley of the Tyropæon, which also commencing at the north-west corner of Jebus, grew in its downward course more and more formidable, until in its lower parts it became

¹ Joshua x. 5.

² Judges i. 8.

³ Bell. v. 2, 2.

unassailable. Besides this natural defence, Jebus was girt by a high wall along the brow of the precipices, and at the north-west corner, where was the weakest point, was erected, on a crest of rock, a citadel with high towers of imposing strength. With these natural and adventitious advantages, who could attempt its subjugation? The Jebusites, the inhabitants of the city, were boastful of their security, and sent to David the insulting taunt that the lame and the blind would suffice to man the walls against the armies of Israel. David, in the chivalrous spirit of the age, proclaimed that whoever should first cross the ravine and storm the wall should be captain of all his host. Joab went up first, and became commander-in-chief. The narrative of these events is contained in the second book of Samuel and the first book of Chronicles, and in the latter it runs thus: 'David and all Israel went to Jerusalem, which is Jebus, where the Jebusites were the inhabitants of the land. And the inhabitants of Jebus said to David, "Thou shalt not come hither." Nevertheless David took the *castle of Zion*, which is *the city of David*. And David said, "Whosoever smiteth the Jebusites first shall be chief and captain." So Joab, the son of Zeruiah, went first up, and was chief. And David *dwelt in the castle*, therefore they called it *the city of David*. And he built the city round about, even *from Millo* round about; and Joab repaired the rest of the city.'¹ In the second book of Samuel we read: 'And David said on that day, "Whosoever *getteth up to the gutter* and smiteth the Jebusites . . . he shall be chief and captain." . . . And David built round about from *Millo* and inward.'² As to the word 'gutter' in the English translation, Josephus, who best understood his

¹ 1 Chron. xi. 4; 2 Sam. v. 6.

² 2 Sam. v. 8.

own tongue, interprets it, as it should be rendered, 'the ravine' by which the city was begirt.¹

The Millo here referred to has not uncommonly been taken for the Millo built by Solomon,² and, if so, the mention of it in this place must be by anticipation. But there is no necessity for this somewhat violent interpretation. Millo, in Hebrew, means simply a citadel. Thus we find a Millo at Shechem as well as at Jerusalem.³ Millo, then, in the time of David was the citadel of Jebus, the High Town; and when the Low Town was added by David, and a citadel built in it by Solomon, the fort of the Low Town was also called Millo, or, for distinction's sake, Millo in the city of David. Josephus in the same way speaks of the "Ἀκρα of the High Town, and another "Ἀκρα of the Low Town. The Septuagint, therefore, has rightly rendered the passage in Samuel, 'and David built the city round about *from the citadel*' (Millo); that is, David extended the city from the citadel on the north side, and also 'inward,' that is, lower down along the east side on the eastern hill. It was only on the north and east sides of Jebus that any expansion was practicable, as on the two other sides were the deep ravines.

What is said to have been captured by David was the 'castle' or 'stronghold,' and these words in English give the idea of a citadel only; but the words in Hebrew are capable of a much wider signification, and no doubt Jebus, as a whole, girt in as it was by ravines and crowned by strong walls, is here meant. Josephus tells us emphatically that the High Town (the ancient Jebus) was called, in the time of David, the Castle.⁴

¹ Τῷ διὰ τῶν υποκειμένων παράγων ἐπὶ τὴν "Ἀκραν ἀναβάντι.—*Ant.* vii. 3, 1.

² 1 Kings xi. 27; ix. 24. ³ Judges ix. 6, 20. ⁴ Bell. v. 4, 1.

According to the narrative, David '*dwelt*' in the castle, or stronghold, whence it was called 'the city of David,' and he built there a house of cedar,¹ and brought thither the ark of God: 'And David made him houses in the city of David, and prepared a place for the ark of God, and pitched for it a tent.'² But by these expressions it must not be understood that David selected one particular part of Jerusalem as distinguished from another, and called the city of David, to be his residence, but only that David moved his court from Hebron, which had hitherto been his capital, to Jerusalem, the new and adopted capital. There are several considerations which lead to the conclusion that David's Palace at Jerusalem was in truth not in Jebus, afterwards the High Town, on the western hill, but in that part of the Low Town, added by David, which lay on the eastern hill, now called Ophel. The facts may not prove this conclusively, but they raise at least a strong probability. 'Gad came that day to David, and said unto him, *Go up*, rear an altar unto the Lord in the threshingfloor of Araunah the Jebusite.'³ Had David dwelt on the western hill, which is much higher than the Temple Mount, the natural expression would have been '*Go down*.' But if the Palace was on Ophel below the Temple, the language was strictly appropriate. The same observation is applicable to the '*bringing up*' of the ark of the Lord from the house of David.⁴ Again, 'The angel of the Lord was by the threshingplace of Araunah the Jebusite, and David spake unto the Lord when he *saw* the angel that smote the people.'⁵ The inference is slight, but the fact that David saw the angel by the threshingfloor of Araunah, suggests that the

¹ 2 Sam. vii. 2; 1 Chron. xvii. 1.

² 1 Chron. xv. 1.

³ 2 Sam. xxiv. 18. ⁴ 1 Kings viii. 1, 6. ⁵ 2 Sam. xxiv. 16.

house where David dwelt was also on the eastern hill, where was the threshingfloor. So, when Adonijah feasted his partisans at Enrogel, David sent Solomon from his Palace to be anointed King at Gihon, or Siloam, which lay just below Ophel, and very near to the royal residence if on the eastern hill. On another occasion, when Absalom rebelled against his father, and David fled by the ascent of Olivet, the two spies who were to communicate with the Royal Palace in the city, were posted at Enrogel, the fountain or well just below the southern point of the eastern hill, and this again would place the locality of the Palace upon the eastern hill. We know also that in this quarter was the armoury,¹ which must have been 'the tower of David builded for an armoury, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men.'² But what, perhaps, is a weightier argument still, when the Jews returned at the end of the seventy years' captivity, and the walls had been rebuilt, Nehemiah divided the people into two great companies, which both started from the Jaffa Gate, at the north-west corner of Jebus. One of them took the northern wall, and the other the southern wall; and the latter company, after parading to the south-east corner of the western hill, 'at the Fountain Gate, which was over against them, went up by the *stairs of the city of David*, at the going up of the wall *above the house of David*, even unto the Water Gate (of the Temple).'³ Here it is evident, from the context, that the eastern hill at *this time* was regarded as a part at least of the city of David, and that the traditional House of David stood upon it; and it is difficult to conceive how this popular belief could have originated unless the Palace of David had been erected on Ophel.

¹ Neh. iii. 19.² Cant. iv. 4.³ Neh. xii. 37.

It may be objected that David 'walked upon the roof of the king's house, and from the roof he saw a woman (Bathsheba) washing herself,'¹ which may seem to imply that there was a pool in the vicinity of David's house, whereas there was none at that time on Ophel, the eastern hill. But the answer is, that for a woman to have washed herself at a public pool would have been a violation of all decorum, and which even the rude manners of that early age could not have tolerated; and Josephus, who best knew the habits of his countrywomen, tells us expressly that Bathsheba was performing her ablutions, not at a pool, but in her private house.²

The expression the 'city of David,' here introduced for the first time, appears to be used in Scripture in several different senses, which has led to much confusion. 1. In the first and widest sense it is equivalent to Jerusalem generally. Thus in the passage above, 'David dwelt in the castle, therefore they called it the city of David;'³ that is, David removed from Hebron to Jerusalem. So, in the same sense, 'David brought not the ark home to himself to the city of David, but carried it aside into the house of Obed-edom the Gittite;'⁴ and 'David made him houses in the city of David, and prepared a place for the ark of God;'⁵ and 'it came to pass as the ark of the covenant of the Lord came to the city of David, that Michal the daughter of Saul,' &c.⁶ But the phrase, in this sense, occurs most frequently in reference to the interment of the kings, who are said, with few exceptions, to have been buried 'in the city of David,'⁷ and nothing more is here meant

¹ 2 Sam. xi. 2.

² ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς οἰκίᾳ. — *Ant.* vii. 7. 1.

³ 1 Chron. xi. 7.

⁴ 1 Chron. xiii. 13.

⁵ 1 Chron. xv. 1.

⁶ 1 Chron. xv. 29.

⁷ 1 Kings ii. 10; xi. 43; xiv. 31; xv. 8, 24; xxii. 50. 2 Kings

than that they were buried at Jerusalem; and in some cases it is so expressed. Thus, Ahaz was 'buried in the city, even in Jerusalem,'¹ which the Septuagint renders 'in the city of David.' Amaziah was 'buried with his fathers in the city of Judah,'² by which, of course, Jerusalem is intended. And here again the Septuagint renders it 'in the city of David.' In the Kings it is said that 'he (Amaziah) was buried *at Jerusalem* with his fathers *in the city of David*,'³ i. e. at Jerusalem, the city of David.

2. In a narrower sense the 'city of David' denotes the new part added and fortified by David, afterwards called the Low Town or Acra, and more particularly that part of it which we may designate as the Outer Low Town, on Ophel, where David's palace stood. Thus 'Solomon brought her (the daughter of Pharaoh) into the *city of David*, until he had made an end of building his own house, and the House of the Lord, and the wall of Jerusalem round about;'⁴ and then Solomon *brought up* the daughter of Pharaoh out of *the city of David* unto the house that he had built for her: for he said, "My wife shall not dwell in the house of David, King of Israel, because the places are holy whereunto the Ark of the Lord hath come."⁵ Here the daughter of Pharaoh is not brought *down* from the High Town, but is brought *up* from the Low Town on Ophel. And again Hezekiah 'repaired Millo in the city of David,'⁶ not Millo simply which was the citadel of the High Town, but

viii. 24; xii. 21; xv. 38; ix. 28; xiv. 20; xvi. 20. 2 Chron. ix. 31; xii. 16; xiv. 1; xvi. 14; xxi. 1, 20; xxiv. 16, 25; xxv. 28; xxvii. 9; xxviii. 27.

¹ 2 Chron. xxviii. 27.

² 2 Chron. xxv. 28.

³ 2 Kings xiv. 20.

⁴ 1 Kings iii. 1.

⁵ 2 Chron. viii. 11.

⁶ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

Millo (the Temple Platform erected by Solomon) in the Low Town, called the city of David. Again, Hezekiah 'stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David,'¹ that is, from the head of the valley of Hinnom in an easterly direction to the Pool of Hezekiah in the Inner Low Town. Manasseh 'built a wall without the city of David on the west side of Gihon, in the valley;'² that is, without the Low Town on Ophel, on the west side of the Lower Gihon at Siloam, in a western direction along the brow overlooking the valley of Hinnom. And in Nehemiah the city of David is clearly used, as we have already shown, in the sense of the Low Town on Ophel.³

3. A third and more confined signification still of 'the city of David' is that adopted by the writer of the **Maccabees**, who means by 'the city of David' the **Macedonian Acra**, or castle, at the north-west corner of the Temple Platform, which had been built by them *in* the city of David, i. e., in the Low Town, and was hence called itself 'the city of David,' as being the principal and most important part of it.⁴

As for the mysterious word 'Sion,' it was properly the designation of that remarkable mountain shut in by the valley of Jehoshaphat on the east, and the valley of Hinnom on the west and south, and from the mountain the name passed to the city built upon it. Salem, the old town, was called Sion. 'In *Salem* also is his Tabernacle and his dwelling-place in *Zion*,'⁵ and the city occupied by the Jebusites still retained the same title. 'David took the castle of Zion;'⁶ and when the city

¹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

² 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

³ Neh. xii. 37; see *supra*, p. 239.

⁴ 1 Macc. i. 33; ii. 31; vii. 32; xiv. 36.

⁵ Ps. lxxvi. 2.

⁶ 1 Chron. xi. 5.

was enlarged by David, and again when further enlarged by Solomon, it still carried along with it through these several stages the name of Sion.

In the historical books of the Old Testament we meet with Sion in but few instances. The first is on the capture of Jebus by David, before referred to, where it stands for Jerusalem generally. Again, Solomon 'brought up the ark of the covenant of the Lord out of *the city of David which is Zion*.'¹ In this passage I suspect that the words 'which is Zion' have crept into the text from the mistaken gloss of some commentator who did not understand the passage, 2 Samuel v. 7, where the stronghold of Zion is called the city of David in the sense of Jerusalem as a whole.² But if the words be genuine, the only admissible interpretation is that as the Temple Platform was without Jerusalem, as it stood in the time of David, the ark was now brought up to the Temple Platform from the old city, called the city of David, as opposed to the new part, the Temple Platform, just added by Solomon. The only other references to Sion in the historical books are the following: 'The virgin, the daughter of *Zion* hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn; the daughter of *Jerusalem* hath shaken her head at thee:'³ and again, 'For out of *Jerusalem* shall go forth a remnant, and they that escape out of Mount *Zion*:'⁴ and in both these passages Sion is evidently used as synonymous with Jerusalem.

In the prophetic or poetical books of the Old Testament Sion, or Zion, stands simply for Jerusalem. But before citing the passages we must remind the reader of that remarkable peculiarity in Jewish poetry—the use

¹ 1 Kings viii. 1.

² See Ant. p. 239.

³ 2 Kings xix. 21.

⁴ 2 Kings xix. 31.

of reduplication in the corresponding members of a sentence—in other words, the repetition of the same idea in different terms, so as to produce an identity of sense with a verbal antithesis. This will be better understood by an example: ‘*Israel* went down to *Egypt*, and *Jacob* to the land of *Ham*.’¹ Here *Israel* and *Jacob* are the same person, and *Egypt* and the land of *Ham* are the same country. •

Now in the Psalms, and elsewhere, we find *Sion* and *Jerusalem* constantly employed as convertible terms, i.e. they both denote the same city. Take the following verses of the Psalms:—‘Declare the name of the Lord in *Zion*; and his praise in *Jerusalem*.’² ‘The Lord shall bless thee out of *Zion*, and thou shalt see the good of *Jerusalem*.’³ ‘Blessed be the Lord out of *Zion*; which dwelleth at *Jerusalem*.’⁴ ‘Praise the Lord, O *Jerusalem*: praise thy God, O *Zion*.’⁵ ‘Do good in thy good pleasure unto *Zion*: build thou the walls of *Jerusalem*.’⁶ ‘In *Salem* (*Jerusalem*) also is his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in *Zion*.’⁷ ‘By the waters of *Babylon* we sat down, and wept when we remembered thee, O *Zion*. . . . If I forget thee, O *Jerusalem*, let my right hand forget her cunning.’⁸ ‘They that trust in the Lord, shall be as *Mount Zion*, which cannot be removed, but abideth for ever: as the mountains are round about *Jerusalem*, so the Lord is round about his people from henceforth, even for ever.’⁹

There are other passages where the language is inconsistent with the hypothesis that *Sion* could be either the Temple Mount, or the Old Town, or, in short, any

¹ Ps. cv. 23.² Ps. cii. 21.³ Ps. cxxviii. 5.⁴ Ps. cxxxv. 21.⁵ Ps. cxlvii. 12.⁶ Ps. li. 18.⁷ Ps. lxxvi. 2.⁸ Ps. cxxxvii. 1, 5.⁹ Ps. cxxv. 1.

part of the city exclusively, and can only be understood as applicable to Jerusalem as a whole. Thus we hear of 'the *gates* of the daughter of *Sion*;' ¹ 'God will save *Zion*, and build the *cities* of Judah;' ² 'the Lord loveth the *gates* of *Zion* more than all the dwellings of Jacob; glorious things are spoken of thee, O *city* of God.'³ And more marked still is the following:— 'Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth is *Mount Zion*: on the sides of the north is *the city* of the Great King. . . . Walk about *Zion*, and go round about her: tell *the towers thereof*, mark ye well her *bulwarks*, and consider her *palaces*.'⁴ That Jerusalem is here meant, is evident from the reference to her towers, and bulwarks, and palaces.⁵

Next to the authority of David in the Psalms, may be placed that of Solomon, his son, and he also speaks of Sion and Jerusalem as two synonyms for one and the same city. Thus, in the Song of Solomon: 'King Solomon made himself a chariot of the wood of Lebanon, . . . paved with love for the daughters of *Jerusalem*. Go forth, O ye daughters of *Zion*, and behold King Solomon with the crown wherewith his mother crowned him in the day of his espousals.'⁶

We have heard the voice of him who was taken from the sheepcote to be king of Israel, and of his wiser son, who was trained in courts. Let us now turn

¹ Ps. ix. 14.

² Ps. lxix. 35.

³ Ps. lxxxvii. 2.

⁴ Ps. xlviii. 2, 12.

⁵ The passages in the Psalms, in which mention is made of Sion, are the following: ii. 6; ix. 11, 14; xiv. 7; xx. 2; xlviii. 2, 12; li. 18; liii. 6; lxxv. 1; lxix. 35; lxxiv. 2; lxxvi. 2; lxxviii. 68; lxxxiv. 7; lxxxvii. 2, 5; xcvi. 8; cii. 13, 16, 21; cx. 2; cxxv. 1; cxxviii. 5; cxxvi. 1; cxxix. 5; cxxxii. 13; cxxxv. 21; cxxxiv. 3; cxxxvii. 1 and 3, and see 5; cxlvi. 10; cxlvii. 12; cxlix. 2.

⁶ Song of Solomon iii. 9, 11.

to the pages of the prophets. In Isaiah, as elsewhere, we find Sion not opposed to, but identified with, Jerusalem. Take the following few selected instances from Isaiah : — ‘ Out of *Zion* shall go forth the law ; and the word of the Lord from *Jerusalem*.’¹ ‘ When the Lord shall have washed away the filth of the daughters of *Zion*, and shall have purged the blood of *Jerusalem*.’² ‘ The Lord of Hosts shall come down to fight for Mount *Zion*, and for the hill thereof : as birds flying, so will the Lord of Hosts defend *Jerusalem*.’³ ‘ O *Zion*, that bringest good tidings, get thee up into the high mountain : O *Jerusalem*, that bringest good tidings, lift up thy voice with strength.’⁴ ‘ The virgin, the daughter of *Zion*, hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn ; the daughter of *Jerusalem* hath shaken her head at thee.’⁵ ‘ Out of *Jerusalem* shall go forth a remnant ; and they that escape out of Mount *Zion*.’⁶ ‘ Awake, awake ; put on thy strength, O *Zion* ; put on thy beautiful garments, O *Jerusalem*, the holy city.’⁷ ‘ Shake thyself from the dust ; arise and sit down, O *Jerusalem* : loose thyself from the bands of thy neck, O captive daughter of *Zion*.’⁸ ‘ For *Zion*’s sake will I not hold my peace : and for *Jerusalem*’s sake I will not rest.’⁹ ‘ *Zion* is a wilderness : *Jerusalem* is a desolation.’¹⁰

In other places there is no reduplication of the same idea by antithesis, but *Zion* and *Jerusalem* are positively asserted to be identical. Thus, ‘ He shall shake his hand against the *mount* of the daughter of *Zion*, the *hill* of *Jerusalem* ;’¹¹ so that Mount *Zion* is called the hill of *Jerusalem*. In another place the prophet speaks of

¹ Is. ii. 3.² Is. iv. 4.³ Is. xxxi. 4.⁴ Is. xl. 9.⁵ Is. xxxvii. 22.⁶ Is. xxxvii. 32.⁷ Is. lii. 1.⁸ Is. lii. 2.⁹ Is. lxii. 1.¹⁰ Is. lxiv. 10.¹¹ Is. x. 32.

‘the holy mountain Jerusalem.’¹ What is meant, therefore, by Zion is Jerusalem, and what is meant by Mount Zion, or the hill of Jerusalem, is the great mountain wedge on which the city was built, bounded by the valley of Jehoshaphat on the east, and the valley of Hinnom on the west and south.

There is one text in Isaiah which may be thought, at first sight, to countenance the idea that Sion was not Jerusalem itself, but some particular quarter of it, and it is this:—‘The people shall dwell in *Zion* at *Jerusalem*.’² But in the original Hebrew it is, ‘and the people in (or of) *Zion* shall dwell in *Jerusalem*; and in the Septuagint it is ‘a holy people shall dwell in *Zion*; and *Jerusalem* hath cried out with tears, Have mercy on me,’³ so that Zion and Jerusalem are here still regarded as identical.

In Jeremiah there is not the same frequent mention of Sion as in Isaiah, but where it occurs, Sion is referred to as a synonym for Jerusalem. Thus, ‘*Zion* shall be ploughed like a field, and *Jerusalem* shall become heaps.’⁴ ‘Hast thou utterly rejected *Judah*: hath thy soul loathed *Zion*.’⁵ ‘I have likened the daughter of *Zion* to a comely and delicate woman. The shepherds with their flocks shall come unto her. . . . Thus hath the Lord of Hosts said, Hew ye down trees, and cast a mount against *Jerusalem*.’⁶ And in the Lamentations, ‘The elders of the daughter of *Zion* sit upon the ground

¹ Is. lxvi. 20.

² Is. xxx. 19.

³ Λαὸς ἅγιος ἐν Σιών οἰκήσει· καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ κλαυθμῷ ἔκλαυσεν Ἐλεῖσόν με. The texts in Isaiah that refer to Sion are, i. 8, 27; ii. 3; iii. 16, 17; iv. 3, 4, 5; viii. 18; x. 12, 24, 32; xii. 6; xiv. 32; xvi. 1; xviii. 7; xxiv. 23; xxviii. 16; xxix. 8; xxx. 19; xxxi. 4, 9; xxxiii. 5, 14, 20; xxxiv. 8; xxxv. 10; xxxvii. 22, 32; xl. 9; xli. 27; xlii. 13; xlix. 14; lii. 1, 2, 7, 8; lx. 14; lxi. 3; lxii. 1, 11; lxiv. 10; lxvi. 8.

⁴ Jer. xxvi. 18.

⁵ Jer. xiv. 19.

⁶ Jer. vi. 2, 6.

and keep silence : . . . the virgins of *Jerusalem* hang down their heads to the ground.’¹ ‘What thing shall I liken to thee, O daughter of *Jerusalem* : what shall I equal to thee, that I may comfort thee, O virgin daughter of *Zion*.’²

We meet with similar language in the prophet Joel : — ‘The Lord also shall roar out of *Zion*, and utter his voice from *Jerusalem*.’³ So, also, in Amos : ‘The Lord will roar from *Zion*, and utter his voice from *Jerusalem*.’⁴ So, also, in Obadiah : ‘Upon *Mount Zion* shall be deliverance, . . and the captivity of *Jerusalem*, which is in Sepharad, shall possess the cities of the south.’⁵ So, also, in Micah : ‘They build up *Zion* with blood, and *Jerusalem* with iniquity. . . . Therefore shall *Zion* for your sakes be ploughed like a field, and *Jerusalem* shall become heaps.’⁶ ‘The Lord shall go forth of *Zion*, and the word of the Lord from *Jerusalem*.’⁷ So in Zephaniah : ‘Sing, O daughter of *Zion* ; . . . be glad and rejoice with all thy heart, O daughter of *Jerusalem*.’⁸ ‘In that day it shall be said to *Jerusalem*, Fear thou not ; and to *Zion*, Let not thine hands be slack.’⁹ So in Zechariah : ‘The Lord shall yet comfort *Zion*, and shall yet choose *Jerusalem*.’¹⁰ ‘Thus saith the Lord, I am returned unto *Zion*, and will dwell in the midst of *Jerusalem*.’¹¹ ‘Rejoice greatly, O daughter of *Zion* ; shout, O daughter of *Jerusalem*.’¹²

¹ Lament. ii. 10.

² Lament. ii. 13. The passages mentioning *Zion* in Jeremiah are, iii. 14 ; iv. 6, 31 ; vi. 2, 23 ; viii. 19 ; ix. 19 ; xiv. 19 ; xxvi. 18 ; xxx. 17 ; xxxi. 6, 12 ; l. 5, 28 ; li. 10, 24, 35 ; and in Lamentations i. 4, 6, 17 ; ii. 1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 13, 18 ; iv. 2, 11, 22 ; v. 11, 18.

³ Joel iii. 16 ; and see ii. 1, 9, 23, 32. ⁴ Amos i. 2 ; and see vi. 1.

⁵ Obad. 17 and 20.

⁶ Micah iii. 10, 12.

⁷ Micah iv. 2 ; and see i. 13 ; iv. 7, 8, 10, 11, 13. ⁸ Zeph. iii. 14.

⁹ Zeph. iii. 16.

¹⁰ Zech. i. 17.

¹¹ Zech. viii. 3.

¹² Zech. ix. 9 ; and see i. 14 ; ii. 7, 10 ; viii. 2 ; ix. 13.

In Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Jonah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Haggai, and Malachi, Zion is not mentioned, but the reader must have been satisfied that Zion, wherever mentioned is equivalent to the holy city—to Jerusalem.

There is one passage, even in the New Testament, which shows that, in the Apostolic times, the word Sion was equivalent to Jerusalem. Thus, in the Hebrews, it is said, ‘But ye (Christians) are come unto *Mount Sion*; and unto the city of the living God, the *heavenly Jerusalem*.’¹

It must be remembered, however, that in the Apocryphal books of the Maccabees, the word Sion has a peculiar and very restricted meaning, as it there plainly indicates, solely and exclusively, the Mount of the Temple, which was fortified by the Maccabees, the Baris or castle afterwards called Antonia.²

To return from this digression. It was in the very last days of King David that an incident occurred, the narrative of which will tend to elucidate the early topography of Jerusalem. Adonijah, his son, had entered upon the nefarious design of seizing the crown, and ‘prepared himself chariots and horsemen, and fifty men to run before him.’³ And he ‘slew sheep and oxen and fat cattle by the stone of Zoheleth, which is by Enrogel’⁴ (in the valley of Jehoshaphat, at its junction with the valley of Hinnom), and assembled Abiathar the priest, and Joab the captain of the host, and a numerous retinue of friends and followers at the banquet. This treasonable proceeding was not unknown to Nathan the prophet, Zadok the priest, and Benaiah the captain of the guard, and others who were interested in securing the succession to Solomon, the son of David

¹ Heb. xii. 22.

³ 1 Kings i. 5.

⁴ 1 Kings. i. 9.

² 1 Macc. iv. 37, 60; v. 54; vi. 62; vii. 33; x. 11.

by Bathsheba. Nathan, therefore, went to the queen, and informed her of the doings at Enrogel, and a little drama was concerted between them. Bathsheba was to present herself before David, and remind him of his promise, real or pretended, that Solomon should be his successor; and while she was yet speaking, Nathan, arriving as if by accident at the same moment, was to confirm her tale. Their parts were well acted; and while Queen Bathsheba was closeted with David, Nathan was announced, and in hurried tones proclaimed the treason that was hatching at Enrogel, — ‘They drink before him, and say, God save King Adonijah.’¹ David, weighed down by years and infirmity, succumbed before their joint influence, and gave the order, ‘Cause Solomon my son to ride upon mine own mule, and bring him down to Gihon: and let Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anoint him king over Israel, and blow ye with the trumpet, and say, God save King Solomon.’² The cavalcade hastened down to Gihon, and Solomon was there anointed king; and no sooner was the ceremony ended, than they blew with the trumpet, and the people shouted, ‘God save King Solomon,’ and escorted him in triumph up to the city. Adonijah and his guests were still seated at the banqueting table, at Enrogel, but little removed from Gihon, when the sound of the trumpet and the shout of the people reached their ears. The old soldier Joab first caught the alarm. ‘Wherefore is this noise of the city being in an uproar?’ and while he yet spake, Jonathan, the youthful son of Abiathar, rushed in, and Adonijah greeted him with ‘Come in, for thou art a valiant man, and bringest good tidings.’

¹ 1 Kings i. 25.

² 1 Kings i. 33.

But no sooner did Jonathan announce that Solomon was king, than the countenances of the fawning flatterers fell, ‘and all the guests that were with Adonijah were afraid, and rose up, and went every man his way.’¹ And Adonijah himself, in whose ears the acclamation ‘God save King Adonijah!’ was still ringing, fled for his life and laying hold of the horns of the altar, claimed the benefit of the asylum.

As this is the first mention of the mysterious *Gihon*, we must dwell upon it for a moment. Gihon is compounded of two Hebrew words גִּיחֹן and בְּאֵר, which import the Vale of Beauty. The former, in its primary sense, signifies a gush of water, and thence the channel formed by the water, and so a valley. According to Josephus, Adonijah was carousing ‘*without the city*, by the *fountain* at the royal gardens,’² that is, at Enrogel, and Solomon was conducted, in like manner, ‘*without the city*, to the *fountain* called *Gihon*.’³ We are to look, then, for a fountain without the city, and in a vale (for so the word Gihon imports), and we find it at the mouth of the Tyropœon. Here the fountain of Siloam flows winter and summer with a refreshing and plentiful stream, pouring fertility and luxuriance over the vineyards and gardens that reach from it down some way along the valley of Jehoshaphat. In this little Elysium are grown, even at the present day, the vegetables for the supply of the Jerusalem market,⁴ and here are the pleasure-grounds to which, in summer, the inhabitants of the sultry city repair at eventide, to

¹ Kings i. 49.

² ἔξω τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τὴν πηγὴν ἐν βασιλικῇ παραδείσῳ.—*Ant.* vii. 14, 4.

³ ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην Γιών.—*Ant.* vii. 14, 5.

⁴ De Sauley, ii. 244.

sip their coffee and smoke their narghileh.¹ The care once bestowed upon this royal demesne, is evidenced by the singular fact, that here only, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, all the stones have been picked out and removed, and a rich mould only remains.² What must have been the attractions of the spot when the treasures of the kings of Judah were lavished upon the culture of this natural paradise! It is to these enchanting gardens of Gihon, fed by the running rills of Siloam, that the son of Sirach refers:—‘God maketh the doctrine of knowledge appear as the light, and as *Gihon* in the time of vintage. The first man knew her not perfectly: no more shall the last man find her out. For her thoughts are more than the sea, and her counsels profounder than the great deep. I also come out as a brook from a river, and as a *conduit into a garden*. I said I will water my best garden. I will water abundantly my garden-bed; and lo! my brook became a river, and my river became a sea.’³ It was in this fairy land, below the fountain of Siloam, that under the idolatrous kings of Judah were practised those horrid abominations that caused Gihon, or the Vale of Beauty, to become, in its Greek form, Gehenna, ‘the type of hell.’

But, it may be objected that Siloam is not the fountain-head but the issue of a conduit brought across the hill of Ophel from the Fountain of the Virgin, in the valley of Jehoshaphat; and if Gihon be made identical with Siloam, how do you show that Siloam existed in the time of Solomon?

We answer, that the rude character of the conduit itself indicates a very remote antiquity; and not only

¹ Schultz, 79.

² Robins. i. 272.

³ Eccclus. xxiv. 27.

so, but Siloam was certainly an ancient fountain in the days of Hezekiah, for the Pool which it supplied was even then called the *Old Pool*,¹ and from a passage in Isaiah, we may collect that the conduit was excavated in the time of David.²

But if Siloam be Gihon, where is 'the upper water-course of Gihon,'³ for there is no other water-course in the valley of the Tyropæon?

This objection arises from the fault of the translation. In the Hebrew it is 'the waters of the *Upper Gihon*;' for while the vale of Siloam was Gihon simply, the head of the valley of Jehoshaphat was known as the Upper Gihon, and the waters there collected were known as the Dragon or Serpent Pool, now Mamilla. 'The large reservoir,' says Robinson, 'commonly called the Upper Pool, or Gihon, may be regarded as a sort of central point in this basin (the valley of Hinnom), from which the land slopes upwards by a gentle declivity on every side except the *east*. On *this* side the ground descends towards the Jaffa Gate, forming a broad hollow or valley, between the two swells on the north and south. This part might, perhaps, be not improperly termed the valley of Gihon.'⁴ In this the author concurs, except that, instead of Gihon, should be read the *Upper Gihon*.

We have only further to remark, that the fountain of Gihon, i.e. Siloam, was so near to Enrogel, that the shouts raised by the procession about Solomon at the mouth of the Tyropæon, could scarcely fail to reach (as they did) the ears of the assembled conspirators over their carousals at Enrogel.

¹ Is. xxii. 11.

² 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

³ Is. xxii. 11.

⁴ Robins. i. 273.

Solomon, the successor of David, occupies the same position in the Hebrew monarchy that *Augustus*, the successor of *Cæsar*, did in the Roman. The military and political talent of David established the kingdom, and Solomon gathered the fruits. The reign of Solomon was the golden age of the Jewish state. The trade with Arabia and the East Indies by the channel of the Red Sea put him in possession of boundless wealth, and he poured it with profusion upon his principal enterprises: 1. The Temple; 2. Millo; 3. The Palace; 4. The Walls of Jerusalem.

I. OF THE TEMPLE.

Josephus, in the Wars, his earliest work, and written when he had not made the same deep research into the antiquities of his country that he afterwards did, states that the *Inner Temple* only, with *one* cloister, the eastern, was erected by Solomon, and that the other cloisters of the Inner Temple, and the whole of the Outer Temple, were the gradual work of succeeding ages.¹ In the Antiquities, however, when Josephus had more thoroughly investigated the subject, he enters into detail, and there ascribes to Solomon both the Inner and the Outer Temple, with all the cloisters of both.² The site of the Temple was originally the threshing-floor of Araunah, and the threshing was in the usual Oriental style, i. e. the corn was trodden out by oxen.³ There must have been from the first therefore a level space of considerable extent, for the oxen

¹ τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως Σολομῶνος, ὃς δὴ καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔκτισε, τὸ κατ' ἀνατολὰς μέρος ἐκτειχίσαντος, εἰς ἑτέθη μία στοὰ τῷ χώματι, καὶ κατὰ γε τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη γυμνὸς ὁ ναὸς ἦν, etc. — *Bell.* v. 5, 1.

² Ant. viii. 3, 1; xv. 11, 3; xx. 9, 7.

³ 1 Chron. xxi. 23. 2 Sam. xxiv. 22.

to make their rounds.¹ But the Temple was to be no ordinary structure, and, according to Josephus, a greatly enlarged area was obtained by reducing the summit, and erecting walls round the sides with stones of immense size, fastened together with lead,² and by then filling up the hollow spaces between the walls and the mount with solid masonry, cramped together with iron.³ There can be little doubt that these immense stones, which are described even in the days of Josephus as 'immovable for all time,' are, notwithstanding the successive destructions of the city, still to be seen resting in their adamantine beds, if not elsewhere, at least at the south-west corner of the present Haram.

The space thus enclosed by Solomon, or the Outer Temple, was a square, each side measuring a stadium, the dimensions which the Outer Temple preserved to the last.⁴ Within the square was another raised platform, and within that another platform still, upon which was the sacred edifice itself. These successive terraces were an imitation of the Assyrian style of architecture, which at that time prevailed more or less all over Syria, and particularly at Tyre. The restoration by Rawlinson of the Assyrian temple called Birs Nimroud,⁵ long supposed to be the veritable Tower of Babel, but since proved to have been erected by Nebuchadnezzar, whose name is stamped upon all the bricks, will illus-

¹ The rock called the Sukrah, under the dome of the mosque of Omar, would not have sufficed for this purpose.

² πέτραις μολίβδῳ δεδεμέναις πρὸς ἀλλήλας. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

³ τὰδ' ἐντὸς σιδήρῳ διησφαλισμένα συνέχουν τὰς ἀρμογὰς ἀκινήτους τῷ παντὶ χρόνῳ. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

⁴ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τετραγώνου γενομένης. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 3. μήκος δὲ στάδιον. — xv. 11, 5. εἰς τετρακοσίους πήχεις. — *Ant.* viii. 3, 9.

⁵ See Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 183.

trate, by its successive tiers of ascending rectangles, the external appearance of the Jewish Temple. The capitals of the columns probably more nearly resembled the Corinthian order than any other. Such was indisputably the style of architecture of the Temple in the time of Herod;¹ and as it is mentioned that the two brazen columns set up by Solomon at the eastern entrance of the Temple had capitals formed of lilies and pomegranates, they were, we may presume, Corinthian.² The architecture of the Palace of Herod was certainly Corinthian,³ and could scarcely have differed from that of the Temple, which was immediately contiguous. The site of the Temple square was at the south-west corner of the present Haram esh Sherif, as we shall have occasion to explain more at large hereafter.

II. OF MILLO.

The scattered notices upon this subject are not numerous, and it will be convenient to present them to the reader collectively in the first instance.

First, then, the name of Millo⁴ signifies literally, in Hebrew, a filling up, or embankment; so that, from the force of the word itself, we look around in search of some great earthwork.

Secondly. The construction of Millo must have been exceedingly costly, for the levy made upon the kingdom for its construction was one of the sources of disaffection which led eventually to the revolt of the ten tribes

¹ κιονοκράνων αὐτοῖς τὸν Κορίνθιον τρόπον ἐπεξεργασμένων γλυνφαῖς.—*Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

² χωνευτὸν δὲ ἐφ' ἑκατέρᾳ κεφαλῇ κρίνον ἐφειστήκει, τὸ ὕψος ἐπὶ πέντε πήχεις ἡγεγερμένον, ᾧ περιέκειτο δίκτυον ἐλάτῃ χαλκείᾳ περιπεπληγμένον τὰ κρίνα.—*Ant.* viii. 3, 4.

³ ἐξεργασμένον δὲ Κορινθίως.—*Ant.* viii. 5, 2.

⁴ מִלּוֹ, from מָלַח, implevit.

under Jeroboam. 'And this was the cause that he [Jeroboam] lifted up his hand against the king: Solomon *built Millo, and repaired the breaches of the city of David*, his father.'¹

Thirdly. From the way in which, in the last citation, Millo is connected with the breaches of the city of David, i. e. the outer wall of the Low Town added by David, and the least defensible part of Jerusalem, it may be inferred that Millo formed part of the *external* bulwarks of the city.

Fourthly. Millo was also in some way connected with the Temple, for 'Then did he [Solomon] *build Millo*; and three times in a year did he offer burnt-offerings and peace-offerings upon the *altar* which he built unto the Lord; and he burnt incense upon the *altar* that was before the Lord. *So he finished the house.*'² The Temple, therefore, was considered as imperfect until Millo also had been completed.

These features are to be found together in one, and only one, great work, the Platform on which stands the Mosque of Omar, called the Haram esh Sherif. This area is upwards of 1,500 feet long from north to south, and upwards of 900 feet broad from east to west. It was evidently at one time surrounded on all sides by a wall of gigantic proportions, which must have rendered it the strongest fortification in Jerusalem.

Huge bevelled stones of Jewish masonry have been traced from the fosse called Bethesda on the north all down the eastern side, and then along the southern, and up the western side, until it reaches a wall of rock at the north-west corner,³ so that the whole Platform

¹ 1 Kings xi. 27.

² 1 Kings ix. 24.

³ The writer of Murray's Handbook for Syria, p. 133, who was admitted into the interior of the Haram, observes: 'On reaching the

was evidently of one uniform design. This, from Solomon downward, was, at the same time, the outwork of the Temple and the Acropolis of the city; the Platform and the Temple standing in the same relation to each other at Jerusalem that the Acropolis and the Parthenon did at Athens. Millo is no doubt 'the high embankment of the Temple Platform,' mentioned by the Son of Sirach;¹ Josephus also speaks of the Temple as 'fenced in with exceeding strength by a stone ambit;² and Tacitus describes the Temple as resembling 'a citadel with outer *walls* of its own, in magnitude and finish surpassing all the rest; while the very *cloisters* which ran round the Temple were a formidable rampart.'³ And Dion observes to the same effect, that the Temple was erected on an eminence, and secured by a bulwark of its own.⁴

The space within the Haram has a slight inclination from north-west to south-east. The rock has been scarped at the south-east corner, where the fall is greatest, and the ground besides has been raised by vaults; and at the south-west corner is a solid mass of earthwork, intended to sustain the superincumbent weight of the Temple above, and to resist the pressure of the vast bridge abutting upon it from the west. But to judge how exactly this artificial plateau answers to the description of Millo, or the Embankment, we must

northern end we observed a section of the massive ancient wall on the left,' i. e. at the north-west corner.

¹ ἀνάλημμα ὑψηλὸν περιβόλου ἱεροῦ. — *Ecclus.* l. 1, 2.

² τὸ ἱερὸν λιθίνῳ περιβόλῳ καρτερῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένον. — *Ant.* xiv. 4, 1. *Bell.* i. 7, 1.

³ 'Templum in modum arcis propriique muri, labore et opere ante alios; ipsæ porticus, queis templum ambiebatur, egregium propugnaculum.' — *Tac. Hist.* v. 12.

⁴ ἐπὶ γὰρ μετεώρου ἦν καὶ περιβόλῳ ἰδίῳ ὡχύρωτο. — *Dion,* xxxvii. 16.

advert to some of the details. At the south-east angle the wall is 77 feet high on the exterior,¹ and on the interior is first a wall (say) 12 feet high above the general level of the Haram ; and underfoot is a space of about 5 feet in depth of earth ; and then come the vaults, about 30 feet in depth ; and the rest, more than 30 feet of further depth, is either the rock escarped or solid masonry. In other parts the height of the outer wall of the Haram varies with the nature of the ground, but the average is about 50 feet, and on the interior the height is from 12 to 15 feet ; so that the embankment or scarpment is in general upwards of 35 feet. At the south-west corner is still to be seen the fragment of an arch reaching along the wall 51 feet, and which, when perfect, had a span of 41 feet, and was the first only of a series of arches, say five or six, carrying a grand viaduct from the Temple Mount to the High Town, a distance of 350 feet.² On the north of the plateau is the Pool of Bethesda, the greatest fosse known, which, so far as it reaches, must effectually have cut off all communication from the north. It is still 75 feet deep, and 130 feet wide. At present the fosse extends only 460 feet, or less than half way along the northern side of the Haram ;³ but anciently it may have reached much further, or there may have been another corresponding fosse, since filled up, on the west. More probably, however, at the north-west corner stood the high rock on which was afterwards erected the Macedonian Acra ; so that any outer fosse in that part would be unnecessary.

¹ See view of the south-east corner from the east, in Traill's Josephus, xxxi., and from the south, *ib.* xxxii.

² See Robins. B. R. i. 288. Barclay, 102.

³ Robins. B. R. i. 293.

If we could only picture to ourselves this vast plateau as it stood in the days of Solomon, the walls towering upward from 40 to 80 feet, and composed of massive stones cut into panels, and so nicely fitted together as to resemble one solid rock; with the magnificent viaduct stretching across the deep valley of the Tyropœon, from the south-west corner of the Temple to the High Town, and the gulf of the great fosse on the north; we should at once confess that only the wealth of Solomon could have accomplished so prodigious an undertaking.

Traces of the hand of Solomon are to be found in many features of this great work. Thus we know that the style of architecture adopted by Solomon was the Assyrian, which abounded in just such raised terraces as those of the Temple Platform; not only so, but further, the architects employed by Solomon were those of Tyre, where the Assyrian taste prevailed, and terrace-work was much in vogue. Indeed Josephus has preserved some curious extracts from the Tyrian archives relating to that very period, and they so exactly describe the Temple Platform, with its viaduct to the High Town, that we can scarcely believe that the words do not refer to the labours of Solomon, and not of a king of Tyre. 'On the death of Abibal,' writes Menander, who translated the archives into Greek, 'his son Hiram succeeded to the kingdom. *He cast up the broad plateau* (τὸ εὐρυχώρον) . . . and cut a quantity of timber on *Mount Libanon* for the roofs of the *Temples*.' And Dius thus: 'On the death of Abibal, his son Hiram was king. He *embanked the eastern parts of the city*, and gave it greater extent; and, having made a *viaduct across the intervening space*, joined the *Temple of Jupiter Olympius*, which had stood by itself, *to the city*.'¹ Again, the

¹ Ant. viii. 5, 3.

stones which still form the ancient foundations of the outer wall of the plateau are all bevelled, i.e. where they are joined, a square channel or groove has been cut along the edges half an inch or more in depth, and one or two inches or more in width ;¹ and this character is found frequently in ancient buildings in Assyria² and at Tyre,³ but seldom elsewhere. When again we examine the vaults at the south-east corner, we observe all the supporting columns to be both bevelled and square;⁴ and we are told, both by Scripture and Josephus, that the pillars in the Palace of Solomon were not round, but square.⁵ And if the walls and south-eastern substructions were the work of Solomon, we must also attribute to him the viaduct or bridge at the south-west corner, for the massive stones which form the abutment of the arch are evidently part of the original wall. It need not surprise us that the arch should be found in an edifice of that age, for the 'Pools of Solomon' were unquestionably constructed by him;⁶ and there also we find the use of the arch. Indeed, recent discoveries have established the fact, that the arch was employed in building both in the days of Nineveh⁷ and in the still more remote times of the early Egyptian dynasties.

That the great fosse at the north of the Haram was excavated by Solomon we should conclude from the circumstance that no other king of Israel could have had the opportunity or means of executing so costly a work. There was certainly a great fosse in that

¹ Barclay, 494.

² Fergusson's Handb. Arch. 187, 188.

³ Robins. B. R. iii. 229.

⁴ See view of them, Bartlett's Jerus. 157. Barclay, 504.

⁵ 1 Kings vii. 5. Ant. viii. 5, 2.

⁶ Barclay, 102.

⁷ Robins. B. R. iii. 229.

quarter long before the time of Herod, for Strabo makes particular mention of it in the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey.¹

III. OF THE PALACE OF SOLOMON.

We have no account of the erection of a Palace by any other king of Judah than Solomon, and we may therefore assume that the gorgeous structure built by him was that occupied by his successors; and that such was the fact may be collected from the following incident.²

Solomon had made 200 targets and 300 shields all of beaten gold, which were kept in his own Palace, the House of Lebanon.³ But, in the reign of Rehoboam his son, Shishak, king of Egypt took Jerusalem, and carried away 'the treasures of *the king's house*'; he took all: he carried away also the shields of gold which Solomon had made. Instead of which King Rehoboam made *shields of brass*, and committed them to the hands of the chief of the guard that kept the *entrance of the king's house*; and when the king entered into the house of the Lord, the guard came and fetched them, and brought them again into the guard-chamber.'⁴ In other words, Solomon, on ascending to the Temple in state, was wont to be attended by a body-guard carrying these golden shields which were kept in his palace in the House of

¹ Strabo, xvi. 2.

² Krafft (p. 114) places the Palace of Solomon at the north-east corner of the western hill now called Sion, and quotes Josephus as an authority that the Palace was opposite the Temple: ἀντικρυς ἔχων ναόν (Ant. viii. 5, 2). But this is quite a mistake. Josephus says only that the Palace had attached to it 'a Temple,' in which Solomon sat for the trial of causes. *The Temple* is not at all alluded to.

³ 2 Chron. ix. 16.

⁴ 2 Chron. xii. 9. 1 Kings xiv. 26.

Lebanon ; and now when the brazen shields were substituted, the latter also were lodged with 'the chief of the guard that kept the entrance of the king's house ;' and as the brazen shields were, no doubt, laid up where the golden shields had been before, the inference is, that the House of Lebanon or Solomon's Palace, and the King's House the palace of his successors, were identical.

Where, then, did the King's House stand ? We may remark, in the first place, that the Scriptures, in speaking of the Palace and the Temple, invariably say, '*to go down*' from the house of the Lord to the king's house, and '*to go up*' from the king's house to the house of the Lord,¹ so that as the slope of the eastern ridge runs from north to south, the Palace was certainly to the south of the Temple.²

But the site of the Palace may be further ascertained from other passages of Scripture, and particularly from an episode in the history of Joash.

Jehoram, king of Judah, married Athaliah, daughter of the wicked Ahab, king of Israel. Ahaziah, the fruit of this marriage, was thus, by descent, brought into intimacy with Joram, king of Israel, and became his ally in the war against Hazael, king of Syria. They both suffered a defeat, and Jehu thereupon revolted against the king of Israel, and Joram and Ahaziah were slain. No sooner were the tidings of this carried to Jerusalem, than Athaliah the queen-mother snatched at the opportunity of seating herself on the throne, and for this purpose attempted the utter extirpation of the royal stock by assassination. One child alone escaped,

¹ Jer. xxii. 1 ; xxvi. 10 ; xxxvi. 12. 2 Chron. viii. 11 ; ix. 4. 1 Kings viii. 1, 4.

² Of this opinion also was Brocardus, who wrote about A. D. 1283 : 'Palatium Salomonis, quod ædificatum fuit in parte australi montis Moria.' — c. 8.

viz. Joash, the infant son of Ahaziah, who was secreted by Jehoiada, the high-priest, for six years. At the expiration of that time, Jehoiada assembled the chiefs of the nation in the Temple, and there produced Joash, when steps were taken for proclaiming him king of Judah. The distribution of the armed force collected by Jehoiada is given differently in the Kings and in the Chronicles, and in Josephus; but the most intelligible account is that in the Chronicles, according to which the Levites, who entered upon their duties on the Sabbath to the relief of those who went out of office, were one third 'porters of the doors,' that is, guarded the entrances of the Outer Temple; another third part was 'at the king's house,' by which Josephus understands the Temple Gate, now called Huldah, leading to the king's house,¹ and the remaining third part was at the 'gate of the foundation,' i.e. the gate leading to the Inner Temple, from the substructions at the east of the Temple, and by which the victims were brought up to the altar.² Athaliah from her palace heard the shouts of the people, and rushed to the Temple; but Jehoiada had laid his plans with foresight, and Athaliah was admitted, while her guard were excluded. On seeing Joash upon the royal Stand, and in the robes of state, Athaliah, like another Jezebel,

¹ τῆς ἀνοιγομένης καὶ φερούσης εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον πύλης. — *Ant.* ix. 7, 2.

² The parallel passages run thus: —

2 Kings xi. 5.	2 Chron. xxiii. 4.	<i>Jos. Ant.</i> ix. 7.
‡ are 'keepers of the watch of the king's house.'	‡ 'at the king's house.'	‡ at the gate leading to the king's house.
‡ 'at the gate of Sur.'	‡ 'at the gate of the foundation.'	‡ at the doors of the Outer Temple.
‡ 'at the gate behind the guard.'	‡ 'porters of the doors.'	‡ in the Temple itself, as a guard to the king.

and with a spirit worthy of a better cause, cried 'Treason! Treason!' and attempted, but in vain, to raise a party in her favour. Only the adherents of Jehoiada were present, and Athaliah was seized and forced out of the Temple. 'They laid hands on her, and she went *by the way by which the horses came into the king's house*, and there she was slain . . . and they slew Athaliah with the sword *beside the king's house*.'¹ 'And they brought *down* the king [Joash] from the house of the Lord, and came *by the way of the gate of the guard to the king's house*, and he sat on the *throne* of the kings.'² Athaliah was probably carried out of the Temple by the road which descended to the substructions, and was then thrust out of the Triple Gate, the entrance to the substructions, and there slain before the Horse Gate. As Athaliah was despatched at 'the *horse gate*,' 'beside the *king's house*,' the Palace and the Horse Gate must have been contiguous; and the Horse Gate was, without question, the gate which stood in the city wall, just south of the point where the city wall ran up to the southern wall of the Temple enclosure. Why it was called the Horse Gate it is not difficult to conjecture. Of the 4,000, or (as another text has it) the 40,000, horses maintained by Solomon, a great part was necessarily kept at Jerusalem; and where could be the stables but in the vast vaults which still exist under the south-east corner of the Haram? Whatever may be the date of the arches above, the square bevelled pillars supporting the roof may be referred to Solomon. In the time of the Crusaders they were still called Solomon's stables.³ The Prison also which stood at the south of the Temple was, from its connection

¹ 2 Kings xi. 16.

² Kings xi. 19.

³ Barclay, 367. Robins. B. R. i. 302.

with these stables, called the Hippodrome, or race-course,¹ being, no doubt, 'the prison which was in the king of Judah's house,' where the prophet Jeremiah was incarcerated.²

From another chapter in the history of Joash, we learn not only the situation of the Palace, but also the proper name of it. In the latter days of his reign he was overtaken by severe sickness, and 'his own servants conspired against him . . . and slew him *on his bed*³ in the *house of Millo* [or in *Bethmillo*], *which goeth down to Silla*.'⁴ The Palace, therefore, was called Bethmillo, as adjoining Millo, the great plateau on which stood the Temple, or perhaps it was built itself upon a terrace or embankment (Millo), just below the great Millo. The Hebrew words rendered in the Authorised Version, 'which goeth down to Silla,' have been variously interpreted. According to some they mean, 'as he [Joash] was going down to Silla,' and they suppose that Bethmillo lay on the road to Silla, which may have been some town or village in the neighbourhood; but evidently Joash was residing in the royal palace in Jerusalem, and Silla, therefore, must have been some place in the city. It is almost unnecessary to remark that Silla has no relation to Siloam, the initial letter of the two words being different in Hebrew, though the same in English. According to its etymology, Silla is a *chaussée*, or causey,⁵ and apparently was the road lead-

¹ Bell. ii. 3, 1.

² Jer. xxxii. 2.

³ 2 Chron. xxiv. 25.

⁴ 2 Kings xii. 20.

⁵ 'סלל via aggesta et munita.' — *Simon's Hebr. Lex.* The causey leading from Shallecheth, one of the western gates of the Temple, down into the valley, was also called with little variation *Mesilla*(סלל). 1 Chron. xxvi. 16, 18. Both *Silla* and *Mesilla* may be translated stairs as well as causey (see *Simon's Hebr. Lex.*);

ing from the Palace, down the Tyropœon Valley, to the king's gardens. Zedekiah no doubt descended by it when he fled 'by the way of the king's garden, by the gate betwixt the two walls.'¹ But if Joash was assassinated as he was going down Silla, or the causey, from the Palace to the king's gardens, how are we to explain the words, 'they slew him on his bed?' The Hebrew term translated 'bed' signifies not so much a bed as a litter or palanquin for carrying the sick.² The passage should have been rendered thus: 'They slew him on his litter, or palanquin, as he was going down Silla,' the causey from the Palace to the king's gardens.

At the south of the Haram is a rectangular level space 290 feet north and south, and 325 feet east and west, enclosed by the Haram wall on the north, and by the city wall on the east and south; and the southern wall on the interior is very low, while on the exterior it is fifty feet high; thus showing an embankment or solid mass of masonry or earthwork of very great depth.³ Bethmillo stood upon this terrace, so that Bethmillo was contiguous to the Temple; and this illustrates a remarkable passage in the Prophet Ezekiel: 'And he said unto me, Son of man, the place of my throne, and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever, and my holy name shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they nor their kings *in their setting of*

and the former is perhaps the more likely interpretation, as we know from Josephus that one at least of the western gates of the Temple led down to the valley and up again by steps. Ant. xv. 11, 5.

¹ Jer. xxxix. 4. 2 Kings xxv. 4.

² 'מטה lectica, sella gestatoria.'—Simon's *Hebr. Lex.*

³ Robins. B. R. i. 285, 238.

their threshold by my thresholds, and their post by my posts, and the wall between me and them.'¹ As the Temple stood at the *south-west* corner of the present Haram, the Palace, if immediately below it upon the quadrangular area now the garden of El Aksa, would tally exactly with the prophet's language, for the Temple and Palace would thus be separated only by an intervening wall.

The component parts of the Palace are not easily followed, but it would seem that it consisted, first, of the Grand Hall, called the House of the Forest of Lebanon, facing the east and fronting the Horse Gate; and behind that, westward, was a great court formed at the sides by the Porch of Pillars on the one hand and the Porch of Judgment on the other; and at the back towards the west was the royal residence, in two compartments, one the House of Solomon, and the other the House of Pharaoh's daughter, the queen. The House of Lebanon, which lay north and south, was the post of the guard whence Joash is said to have entered the Palace by the Gate of the Guard,² called elsewhere the High Gate.³

The House of Lebanon, as it was the front of the Palace, and under its stately portico was the royal approach, is apostrophised by Jeremiah as the Palace itself, in his prediction of the destruction of the royal edifice: 'Thus saith the Lord, Go *down* [i. e. from the Temple, where the prophet was] to the house of the king of Judah, and speak there this word. . . . If ye do this thing indeed, then shall there enter by the gates of this house kings sitting upon the throne of David, *riding in chariots and on horses*, he, and his servants, and his

¹ Ezek. xliii. 7.² 2 Kings xi. 19.³ 2 Chron. xxiii. 20.

people. . . . Thus saith the Lord unto the king's house of Judah: Thou art Gilead unto me, and the *head of Lebanon*; yet surely . . . they shall cut down *thy choice cedars*, and cast them into the fire. . . . O inhabitant of Lebanon [Jehoiakim], that *makest thy nest in the cedars*, how gracious thou shalt be when pangs come upon thee, the pain as of a woman in travail!'¹ How appropriate is this language, as addressed to the king who was dwelling in the House of the Forest of Lebanon, or rather in the Palace of which this house was the imposing façade!

The greatest light thrown upon the architectural character of the Palace of Solomon is derived from the recent discoveries in and near Nineveh. Take, for instance, the north-west Palace of Nimroud, which would almost seem to have been the pattern after which the royal palace at Jerusalem was built.² Thus the Nimroud Palace is nearly a square, of about 330 feet each way, and the area of Solomon's Palace is 325 feet by 290 feet. In front at Nimroud was a great hall, 152 feet long by 32 feet wide; and in front at Jerusalem was a hall, the House of Lebanon, 150 feet by 75 feet.³ The halls at Nimroud were supported by rows of pillars, not of stone, but of wood,⁴ and the Hall of Lebanon was supported by three rows⁵ of cedar pillars, fifteen in a row, making forty-five in the whole.⁶ In the centre at Nimroud was a spacious open court; and in the centre at Jerusalem was also a court.⁷ On the sides at Nimroud were suites of apartments three

¹ Jer. xxii. 1.

² See Fergusson's Handbook of Archit. 165.

³ 1 Kings vii. 2.

⁴ Fergusson's Handbook of Archit. 188.

⁵ In the Vulgate four rows; a mistake which is corrected by the Septuagint.

⁶ 1 Kings vii. 2, 3.

⁷ 1 Kings vii. 8.

deep, decreasing in width as they receded from the light supplied from the great court; and at Jerusalem were windows in three rows, and light against light in three ranks.¹ At Nimroud, in the rear was a double suite of apartments; and in the rear at Jerusalem were the separate suites of the king and the queen.² At Nimroud the interior walls were lined with sculptured slabs; and at Jerusalem the apartments were also wainscoted with stones carved in imitation of trees and plants.³

The Palace of Solomon was below the Temple Platform, and in laying the solid foundations of Millo, provision had been made for a double passage from the Palace to the Temple, about 250 feet long and 42 feet wide. It was formed of bevelled stones to imitate panelling, and rose by a gentle incline, through the heart of the mass to one of the gates of the Inner Temple.⁴ This marvellous subterranean approach, impregnable from its nature to the ravages of time, still remains, though painfully disfigured. It is called to this day the Temple of Solomon, and here, if anywhere, a genuine relic of that famous monarch may be seen. The entrance to it is some fifteen or twenty feet above the level of the ground without,⁵ and a flight of steps must therefore have originally led up to it. Assyrian architecture was remarkable for the prominence and splendour of its flights of steps;⁶ and Solomon, who studiously copied the Assyrian style, no doubt invested this grand approach to the Temple with the most profuse ornament. This is the 'ascent by which Solomon

¹ 1 Kings vii. 4.

² 1 Kings vii. 8.

³ Jos. Ant. vii. 5, 2.

⁴ See a description more in detail, post.

⁵ Robins. B. R. i. 305.

⁶ Fergusson's Handbook of Archit. 190.

people. . . . Thus saith the Lord unto the king's house of Judah : Thou art Gilead unto me, and the *head of Lebanon* ; yet surely . . . they shall cut down *thy choice cedars*, and cast them into the fire. . . . O inhabitant of Lebanon [Jehoiakim], that *makest thy nest in the cedars*, how gracious thou shalt be when pangs come upon thee, the pain as of a woman in travail !¹ How appropriate is this language, as addressed to the king who was dwelling in the House of the Forest of Lebanon, or rather in the Palace of which this house was the imposing façade !

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⁶ 1 Kings vii. 2, 3.

⁷ 1 Kings vii. 8.

IV. OF THE WALLS OF SOLOMON.

Salem, or Jebus, the Old Town, afterwards known as the High Town, had from the most remote times been encompassed by a wall of its own, but no sooner was the city made the capital of the monarchy, than it rapidly spread on the north and east sides, the only open tracts. These accretions were surrounded by a wall, and called the City of David, as opposed to Jebus, the Old Town, afterwards the High Town. Solomon still further extended the dimensions of the city, by building the Temple on the threshing-floor of Araunah, and his Palace just below, and these also were enclosed within the walls, and thenceforth formed part of the City of David, or Low Town. He at the same time repaired the breaches in the bulwarks about the City of David, the most exposed part of Jerusalem, and strengthened the walls of Jerusalem generally. ‘And Solomon made an end of building his own house, and the house of the Lord, and the wall of Jerusalem round about;’¹ and he ‘repaired the breaches of the City of David.’² The account of Josephus is, that Solomon ‘having repaired the walls of Jerusalem, made them much greater and stronger than they were before;’³ and adds that he erected towers also, so as to make the line of defences worthy of the monarch who resided within them.⁴

¹ 1 Kings iii. 1.

² 1 Kings xi. 27.

³ καὶ κατασκευάσας τὰ τεῖχη τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πολλῶ μείζω καὶ ὀχυρώτερα τῶν πρόσθεν ὄντων, etc. — *Ant.* viii. 2, 1.

⁴ ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρα τὰ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τεῖχη ὁ βασιλεὺς πύργων πρὸς ἀσφαλείᾳ δεόμενα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ὀχυρώτητος, etc. — *Ant.* viii. 6, 1.

On the death of Solomon, a deputation waited on his son *Rehoboam*, on the subject of the heavy imposts which his father had levied; and when the young hot-headed prince returned the hasty and impolitic answer, that 'his little finger should be thicker than his father's loins,' the ten tribes, with *Jeroboam* at their head, broke out into open revolt.

From this time to the destruction of the city by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the house of Judah was constantly engaged either in civil wars with the house of Israel, or in defending itself against the inroads of the Chaldees and Egyptians. There was neither leisure nor treasure for the decoration or improvement of Jerusalem; but the kings employed all their thoughts and means upon the safety of themselves and their people. With the exception of the High Gate of the Temple, erected by *Jotham* in the place where afterwards stood the Corinthian or Beautiful Gate,¹ all the works taken in hand by the kings, from Solomon to *Zedekiah*, were either for the repair of the walls, or the increase of the towers, or the supply of water against a siege. The topographical notices, even of this kind, are few and far between, and are soon enumerated.

Amaziah, king of Judah, was successful against the Edomites, and, puffed up by his good fortune, was emboldened to challenge *Jehoash*, king of Israel, to a trial of strength. *Amaziah* was defeated in battle and taken captive, and *Jehoash* possessed himself of Jerusalem. *Amaziah* was suffered to remain on the throne, but the king of Israel left him in a helpless plight, by 'breaking down the wall of Jerusalem, from the gate of Ephraim unto the corner gate, 400 cubits.'² A corner

¹ 2 Kings xv. 35. 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

² 2 Kings xiv. 13. 2 Chron. xxv. 23.

may be either a reentering or a projecting angle ; and while in English the word 'corner' is used to express both, in Hebrew a projecting angle has an appropriate and peculiar term ; and in the present instance, by 'corner' must be understood exclusively a projecting angle. What, then, was the position of this Corner Gate ? We have some clue to it from more than one notice of it in the Prophets.

Jeremiah, in order to encourage Judah during the captivity, predicts that Jerusalem should again be inhabited, and that the borders of it should even be extended. 'Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that the city shall be built to the Lord from the tower of Hananeel *unto the gate of the corner* [external] ; and the measuring line shall yet go forth over against it upon the hill Gareb, and shall compass about to Goath. And the whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes, and all the fields unto the brook of Kedron, unto the corner of the *horse gate* toward the east, shall be holy unto the Lord.'¹ The tower of Hananeel, there can be little doubt, stood at the north-west angle of the Temple enclosure, and probably occupied the site of the fortress known in after ages by the name of Acra. The gate of the corner which is opposed to it would therefore stand at the north-west corner of the city. The sense of the whole passage is, that Jerusalem should be restored to its old limits in breadth, from Hananeel at the north-west angle of the Temple enclosure, to the Corner Gate at the north-west corner of the city : and not only so, but that it should spread itself on the north over Gareb or Bezetha ; on the west over Goath or Golgotha (the hill which lay along the western limb of the second wall) ; on the

¹ Jer. xxxi. 38.

south to the Valley of Hinnom, famous for its sepulchres and idolatrous sacrifices; and on the east to the corner next the Horse Gate, which, at the south-east angle of the Temple, overlooked the Valley of Kedron. Thus the prophet completes the circle from the *north-west* corner of the Temple until he reaches the sanctuary again at the *south-east* corner of it; a prophecy which received its fulfilment in the days of Agrippa, who, in A. D. 43, erected the third wall, and so enclosed both Gareb and Golgotha.

The Corner Gate is also mentioned by the prophet Zechariah: 'It [Jerusalem] shall be lifted up and inhabited in her place, from *Benjamin's gate* unto the place of the first gate, unto the *corner gate*, and from the tower of Hananeel unto the king's winepresses.'¹ Benjamin's Gate was on the east side of the city,² and at the north of the Temple Platform;³ and Hananeel was the tower at the north-west of the Temple enclosure; and the king's winepresses were in the king's gardens at the south-east of the city by Siloam. The prophet, therefore, gives first the breadth of the city by the gates, viz. from Benjamin's Gate on the north-east⁴ to the Corner Gate at the north-west angle of the city; and then the length of the eastern side by the towers, viz. from the tower of Hananeel on the north to the king's winepresses on the south.

From these references we may conclude that the 400 cubits of wall broken down in the time of Amaziah by Jehoash, from the Corner Gate to the Gate of Ephraim, were 400 cubits from the north-west corner

¹ Zech. xiv. 10.

² Jer. xx. 2.

³ Ezek. ix. 2.

⁴ Benjamin's Gate was not quite at the north-east corner, but there was no other gate, or at least none of importance, beyond it toward the east.

of the city along the western side, as far as another gate called the Gate of Ephraim.¹

Amaziah was succeeded by his son *Uzziah*, who 'built towers in Jerusalem at the *corner gate*, and at the *valley gate*, and at the *turning of the wall*, and fortified them.'² The Valley Gate was certainly at the north-west corner of the High Town, now the Jaffa Gate; and the Corner Gate was, as we have seen, at the north-west corner of the city; and, as the 'turning of the wall,' in Hebrew, may mean either a projecting or reentering angle, we may suppose that Uzziah now strengthened the city by erecting towers at the three angles, viz. first at the Valley or Jaffa Gate; secondly, at the north-west corner, or the Corner Gate; and thirdly, at the turning of the wall, at the north-east corner, by the Fish Gate. But, if by 'the turning of the wall' be understood a reentering angle, the third tower must be placed at the point where the second

¹ It deserves notice, that the Gate of Ephraim and the Corner Gate were only 400 cubits, or 600 feet, apart, so that the great number of gates in Jerusalem must not lead us to infer that the city had therefore a large circuit. Jerusalem, before the extension of it by Agrippa, appears to have had twelve gates (the number of the tribes of Israel, and after which they may have been named, see Rev. xxi. 12); and, unless the intervals between the other gates were much greater than that between the Corner Gate and the Gate of Ephraim, the ambit of Jerusalem must have been small indeed. The twelve gates were: 1. Benjamin's Gate, now Bab Hotta; 2. Fish Gate, at or near the Arch of Ecce Homo; 3. Old Gate, in Asmonean Valley; 4. Corner Gate, at north-west corner; 5. Gate of Ephraim, in the western wall; 6. Valley Gate (Jaffa); 7. Dung Gate, at south-west corner; 8. Potter's Gate, on the south, opposite the Potter's field; 9. Fountain Gate, leading down to Siloam from the High Town; 10. Gate in Tyropæon Valley, 'betwixt the two walls' (Jer. xxxix. 4. 2 Kings xxv. 4); 11. Horse Gate; 12. Miphkad, or Golden Gate.

² 2 Chron. xxvi. 9.

wall started northward from the north wall of the High Town.

After Uzziah, followed his son *Jotham*, of whom it is said that ‘on the wall of Ophel he built much.’¹ Ophel had been fortified by David and Solomon, and now again Jotham gave it additional strength. The royal palace stood there, and the royal safety was first to be secured.

Jotham was succeeded by his son *Ahaz*, who was threatened by the allied forces of Rezin, king of Syria, and Pekah, king of Israel; ‘and it was told the house of David, saying, “Syria is confederate with Ephraim.” And his heart was moved, and the heart of his people, as the trees of the wood are moved with the wind.’² As the army of the two potentates approached Jerusalem, Ahaz personally went out of the gates to reconnoitre, when the word of the Lord came to Isaiah in the Temple: ‘Go forth now to meet Ahaz, thou and Shear-jashub thy son, at the *end of the conduit of the upper pool* in the *highway of the fuller’s field*; and say unto him, Take heed, and be quiet; fear not, neither be faint-hearted for the two tails of these smoking fire-brands,’³ &c. The Upper Pool here spoken of was also called the Dragon Pool, or as Josephus renders the Hebrew word (signifying either dragon or serpent),⁴ the Serpent Pool,⁵ now Birket Mamilla. It stands to the north-west of the Jaffa Gate, at the head of the Valley of Hinnom, and was called the Upper Pool, in contradistinction to the Lower Pool in the same valley, half-way between the Jaffa Gate and the south-west

¹ 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

² Is. vii. 2.

³ Is. vii. 3.

⁴ ‘דִּרְסֵי draco, serpens magnus, serpens quivis.’ — *Simon’s Hebr. Lex.*

⁵ Bell. v. 3, 2.

corner of the city, and now called Birket Sultan. From the Dragon or Serpent Pool the water was conveyed by a conduit to the Valley Gate, now the Jaffa Gate, and so supplied the fountain mentioned in Nehemiah as the dragon fountain¹ (mistranslated the dragon *well*).² The Valley gate opened upon two roads: one south-west to Bethlehem, and another north-west to Jaffa. The last was called the Highway of the Fuller's field, as it skirted the Fuller's field which lay between it and the western limb of the second wall. The Fuller's field gave rise to the gate afterwards known as the Porta Villæ Fullonis, situate at the north-west corner of the city as enlarged by Agrippa,³ and has no reference to the Fuller's *monument* at the north-east corner of the city.⁴ The Fuller's field on the north-west was the highest ground in the neighbourhood of the walls, and was almost invariably occupied by an invading enemy. Here encamped the Assyrians, whence it was afterwards called the Assyrian Camp; and here in later times Cestius, and afterwards Titus; and here also Tancred, in the days of the Crusaders. The directions to Isaiah were therefore very precise, viz. that the prophet should find Ahaz *at the end of the conduit* from the Dragon Pool, *on the road to Jaffa* by the *Fuller's field*.

Ahaz was succeeded by his son *Hezekiah*, whose reign forms an important epoch in the history of Jerusalem. The works of Hezekiah were all of a defensive character, and prompted by the hourly expected invasion of Sennacherib, king of Assyria. They were:—

¹ עֵין הַדֶּגֶן.

² Neh. ii. 13.

³ Tobler, Top. i. 161, 166. Robins. i. 321.

⁴ Bell. v. 4, 2.

1. 'The stopping of all the fountains and the brook that ran through the midst of the land.'¹ 2. 'He also stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David,'² and 'he gathered together the waters of the lower pool ;'³ or, as it is expressed elsewhere, 'He made a *pool* and a *conduit*, and brought water into the city.'⁴ 3. 'He made a ditch [or reservoir] between the two walls for the water of the old pool.'⁵ 4. 'He built up the wall that was broken, and raised it up to the towers, and another wall without,'⁶ and 'repaired the breaches of the city of David,'⁷ and 'repaired Millo in the city of David.'⁸

1. Of the stopping of the Fountains and Brook.

For this purpose 'there was gathered *much people* together,'⁹ so that evidently the operation was one of great magnitude, and extended to some distance from Jerusalem. The account of Aristeas is that the environs of Jerusalem were underlaid with pipes for the distance of five furlongs from the city.¹⁰ However this may be, it is probable that anciently there was a permanent running stream in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, whence the name of 'the Brook ;' and that Hezekiah now diverted it. The mysterious way in which the water is supplied to Enrogel, the well at the junction of the three valleys of Jehoshaphat, Tyropæon, and Hinnom, may be referred to this agency.

2. 'Hezekiah also stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the west side of

¹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 4.

² Isa. xxii. 9.

³ Isa. xxii. 11.

⁷ Isa. xxxii. 9.

⁹ 2 Chron. xxxii. 4.

² 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

⁴ 2 Kings xx. 20.

⁶ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

⁸ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

¹⁰ Barclay, 297.

the city of David,' and 'gathered together the waters of the lower pool;' or, as all this is elsewhere expressed, 'he made a pool and a conduit, and brought water into the city.'

The literal rendering of the Hebrew in the first passage is that Hezekiah stopped, not the *upper water-course* of Gihon, but the waters of the *Upper Gihon*; and we have seen that while Gihon simply was the mouth of the Tyropœon, from which issued the stream of Gihon, or Siloam, into the gardens of Gihon, or the king's gardens below, the Upper Gihon was at the head of the Valley of Hinnom, where was the Upper Pool, afterwards called the Dragon or Serpent Pool, and now the Mamilla. The surplus waters of this pool had originally flowed into the Lower Pool, now Birket Sultan, which is also in the Valley of Hinnom, but Hezekiah diverted them, and brought them 'straight down to the west side of the city of David,' (the Low Town, or Acra), and there collected them in the New Pool formed by him, called by Josephus the Amygdalon, or Almond Pool, and now the Pool of Hezekiah. As Isaiah calls this new pool the Lower Pool,¹ and as in the reign of Ahaz, the predecessor of Hezekiah, mention is also made of a Lower Pool, there must, of course, have been in Jerusalem a pool with reference to which two other pools might be called Lower, and such is the case with the pool Mamilla, the highest pool in all Jerusalem, the waters of which flow down naturally into Birket Sultan, and artificially into the Pool of Hezekiah.

The conduit by which the water was conveyed from the Upper Pool into the Pool of Hezekiah, still remains,

¹ Is. xxii. 9.

and from its usefulness has been kept constantly in repair, and is still serviceable. There have recently been discovered in the same neighbourhood extensive underground waterworks, which may with great probability be also ascribed to the hand of Hezekiah on this occasion. About twenty years since, in digging the foundations of the English church, an aqueduct was discovered at the depth of thirty-three feet, running east and west, and traceable upwards of two hundred feet towards the east, and as far as the city wall on the west. It was built with cement, and very nearly level, so that the water would stand in it for its whole length, and at intervals were apertures above for drawing up the water with a line and bucket.¹ The aqueduct is now dry, but it was probably supplied artificially from the Pool of Hezekiah, or by a conduit from the Upper Pool. This is confirmed by a passage in Josephus, where he speaks of a gate at the north-west corner of the High Town, by which the water was conveyed into Hippicus, the principal tower of the citadel.²

Should the notion occur to anyone, that as in the Valley of Jehoshaphat there were two watercourses, the Fountain of the Virgin above and the Well of Enrogel below, and that as the former had been conveyed by a conduit in a western direction to Siloam, therefore the Fountain of the Virgin must be the upper watercourse of Gihon which was diverted by Hezekiah, and was carried by him to Siloam, we answer that this hypothesis cannot be sustained: for Isaiah, in the time of Ahaz the *predecessor* of Hezekiah, speaks of the people as even then ‘refusing the waters of Shiloah that go

¹ Bartlett's Jerus. 82. Tobler's Dritte Wand, 231.

² μέχρι πύλης καθ' ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰππικὸν πύργον εἰσῆκτο. — Bell. v. 7, 3.

softly, and rejoicing in Rezin and Remaliah's son ;'¹ and not only so, but Isaiah, alluding to the military preparations of Hezekiah against the Chaldeans, writes: 'Ye made also a ditch [or reservoir] between the two walls for the water of the *old pool*: but ye have not looked unto the maker thereof, neither had respect unto him that fashioned it *long ago*.'² And there can be no doubt that the reservoir here referred to was that constructed by Hezekiah between the two walls of Ophel and the High Town, to receive the waters of Siloam. And, if so, the Pool of Siloam, here described as the old pool, could not have been formed for the first time by Hezekiah himself. Indeed, as the prophet appears to reproach Hezekiah for being solely occupied in warlike defences, instead of taking the pious David, the founder of the dynasty, for his example, we may infer that the person referred to as the maker of the conduit from the Fountain of the Virgin was David himself.

To the operations of Hezekiah, in constructing this extensive system of waterworks, must be ascribed (though we cannot at present explain its connection) that remarkable well about 125 ft. to the west of the Haram, nearly opposite the mosque of Omar, called Hammâm es Shefa, or Baths of Healing.³ This well is 82½ feet deep, and has long been, and still is, a subject of mystery. It was first explored in 1842 by Dr. Wolcott, and was found to be sunk through the rock, and at the bottom was a vaulted channel, traced to the distance of 80 feet; but he had injured his compass in the descent, and could not ascertain the

¹ Is. viii. 6.

² Is. xxii. 11.

³ See plan of this excavation in Barclay, 534.

direction of the duct. In 1846 it was again explored by Dr. Tobler, who determined the direction of the excavation to be southward, and he followed it somewhat further than his predecessor, and until he arrived at a circular basin about 100 feet to the south of the well mouth, where the channel became impassable. It has since been revisited by Dr. Barclay, but who has not penetrated beyond the circular basin. The local information goes, that the underground passage runs considerably beyond the basin, perhaps for another 100 feet. Water is raised from this well in great quantities, especially on Friday, the Turkish Sabbath, and yet the supply is never exhausted. The water is clear, and free from the impurities of rain water, and resembles in taste the Fountain of Siloam.¹ Whence this inscrutable and never-ceasing supply is derived, no one at present can tell. It is more particularly to this well that the Son of Sirach probably refers in the passage, '*Ezekias fortified the city, and brought water into the midst thereof: he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters.*'²

3. He 'made also a ditch between the two walls for the water of the old pool.'³

Here we stand on certain ground. The word rendered ditch signifies in Hebrew a reservoir,⁴ and the meaning is this. Hezekiah was expecting the invasion of Sennacherib, and when Jerusalem was besieged the stream of Siloam would flow beyond the walls of the city for the benefit of the enemy. Hezekiah, therefore, to preserve the surplus water of Siloam for his own people, constructed a reservoir within the mouth of the

¹ Barclay, 528.

² Ecclus, xliii. 17.

³ Is. xxii. 11.

⁴ 'תִּקְוָה receptaculum aquæ.' — *Simon's Hebr. Lex.*

Tyropæon 'between the two walls,' viz. the wall of Ophel on the east, and the wall of the High Town on the west. The valley in this part is very narrow, and the pool, therefore, could be easily constructed by carrying a dam across the ravine on the south. The remains of the pool are still traceable, and the dam at the southern end is still there,¹ composed of large stones, carrying the appearance of great antiquity.² The pool is 130 feet long, and almost equally broad, somewhat curved at the northern end, which approaches within a few paces of the Old Pool, or Siloam,³ which itself is about 100 yards from the southern end of the eastern ridge, commonly called Ophel.⁴ The pool thus formed by Hezekiah was afterwards known as the 'King's Pool,' from King Hezekiah who constructed it.

4. 'He built up the wall that was broken down, and another wall without;'⁵ and repaired the breaches of the city of David,⁶ and 'Millo in the city of David.'⁷

The 400 cubits of the western limb of the second wall broken down by Jehoshaphat, king of Israel, had been restored by Uzziah, and now Hezekiah gave the second wall additional strength by raising the height of it up to the towers. Not only so, but he also 'built another wall without.' The second wall, up to this time, had started from the north wall of the High Town, about half-way along it between the Jaffa Gate and the Temple. The western limb of the second wall, from its long reach and from the nature of the ground to the west, was a weak and assailable part, and Hezekiah now doubled the line of defence, by making an elbow,

¹ See site of the pool below that of Siloam, Barclay, 525.

² Schultz, 40.

³ Barclay, 313.

⁴ Barclay, 524.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

⁶ Isa. xxii. 9.

⁷ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

or 'another wall without,' commencing from the gate Gennath in the first wall of the High Town, and running upward along the west side of the new Pool of Hezekiah, and then along its north side until it effected a junction with the second wall at the Gate of Ephraim. When the walls were repaired by Nehemiah this outer wall of Hezekiah was rebuilt, and formed part of the second wall, and so continued until the destruction of the city by Titus. Not long since, in repairing the Coptic convent at the north of the Pool of Hezekiah, the remains of this wall or the one substituted for it were discovered. The stones were large, hewn, and bevelled; and the south side of the wall was plastered with cement, as if it had at one time formed also the northern wall of the pool. This would probably be the case, as both the pool and the wall were the work of Hezekiah. Had the wall been constructed for the pool only, a thickness of three or four feet would have sufficed.¹ But the breadth of this wall was ten or twelve feet, and (assuming it to be twelve feet) was of the same breadth as the wall of the Temple.² This measure probably exceeded the average thickness of the second wall, and therefore gave rise to the name by which it is called in Nehemiah, the Broad Wall.³ Further remains of this wall have since been found at its junction with the old second wall, near the northern end of the Bazaars, where the Russians are now laying the foundations of their new consulate.⁴

After having fortified the least-protected part of the city on the north-west, Hezekiah 'repaired the breaches

¹ See *Biblic. Dict.*, art. Jerus. 1028.

² *Bell.* vi. 5, 1.

³ *Neh.* iii. 8. The thickness of the present walls of Jerusalem is only from three to four feet. *Tobl. Top.* i. 62.

⁴ See *ante*, p. 158.

of the city of David,'¹ that is, the breaches in the wall of the Low Town, the part added by David, and therefore called the City of David; and he also 'repaired Millo in the City of David;' ² that is, the Temple Platform, the Millo or citadel of the City of David, or Low Town, as opposed to the Millo now the castle of David, the citadel of the High Town.

Such were the preparations made by Hezekiah in anticipation of the Assyrian invasion. Soon afterwards Sennacherib was in Palestine, and city after city fell before his arms. While he was besieging Lachish, he sent Rabshakeh with a strong force against Jerusalem, as an easy prey. Rabshakeh pitched his camp at the north-west of the city, as Hezekiah had expected, and where Hezekiah had recently fortified it by building 'another wall without.' The site of this camp on the high ground at the north-west was ever afterwards known as the 'Camp of the Assyrians.' Many, if not most, place the camp at the north-east of the city, but this cannot be maintained. For, in the siege by Titus, the Roman camp, which was on the site of the Assyrian camp, is said to have extended thence to the Valley of Jehoshaphat; a remark quite out of place, had the camp been at the north-east of the city, and therefore on the brink of the valley.³ And again, the Jews sallied from the High Town by the Pool of Hezekiah, called then the Almond Pool, and, therefore, at the north-west of the High Town; and pursued the Romans as far as their camp, the 'Camp of the Assyrians,'⁴ which, therefore, lay on the north-west. And again, the circumvallation of Titus was commenced at the Camp of

¹ Is. xxxii. 9.

³ Bell. v. 7, 8.

² 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

⁴ Bell. v. 11, 5.

the Assyrians, and carried thence across the Lower Cænopolis, or Lower New Town, i.e. the eastern ridge, to the Valley of Jehoshaphat ; and, after encompassing the east and south, ended by running along the western side of the city, round the monument of Herod, at the Serpent or Dragon Pool, now the Mamilla, where it again joined the Camp of the Assyrians :'¹ and it is evident from this description that the Camp of the Assyrians lay between the second and third walls, at the north-west corner of the city. It probably stood in the upper part of the tract known as the Fuller's field.²

Rabshakeh, seeing the strength of the city, made no assault upon it, but invited Hezekiah to a conference. As Sennacherib was not present in person, Hezekiah, consulting his own dignity, declined also to appear personally, and deputed his chief officers, Eliakim the minister of state, and Shebna the secretary, and Joah the recorder to represent him. Rabshakeh 'stood by the conduit of the upper pool, in the highway of the fuller's field,'³ and, therefore, by the Valley or Jaffa Gate, where was the Dragon Fountain, fed by the conduit from the Upper or Dragon Pool, now the Mamilla. Eliakim and his company were posted on the wall adjoining, which was thronged by the people of the city. The Assyrian began in the Jew's language, and endeavoured by bravado and threats to terrify the besieged into a surrender of the city : 'Thou trustest in the staff of this broken reed of Egypt, whereon if a man lean it shall go into his hand. . . . But if thou say to me, We trust in the Lord our God . . . where are the gods of Hamath and

¹ Bell. v. 12, 2.² See ante, p. 278.³ Is. xxxvi. 2.

Arphad? where are the gods of Sepharvaim? and have they delivered Samaria out of my hand?'¹ Eliakim, Shebna, and Joah were afraid of the effect of this intimidation upon the bystanders, and said: 'Speak, I pray thee, unto thy servants in the Syrian language, for we understand it, and speak not in the Jew's language in the ears of the people that are on the wall.'² But Rabshakeh upon this raised his voice still higher in the Jew's language, and repeated his insolence; but Eliakim broke off the conference, and 'the people answered him not a word, for the king's commandment was saying, Answer him not.'³ The result was reported to Hezekiah, who hurried to the prophet Isaiah for advice, when Isaiah was directed to carry to Hezekiah this message: 'Thus saith the Lord, be not afraid of the words that thou hast heard, wherewith the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold I will send a blast upon him [Sennacherib], and he shall hear a rumour, and return to his own land, and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land.'⁴ Rabshakeh, unable to assault Jerusalem, returned to his master then at Libnah, and shortly after the blast of the Lord, recorded in Scripture, and referred to, but less distinctly, by Herodotus, fell upon Sennacherib: 'Then the angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand: and when they rose in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses. So Sennacherib, king of Assyria, departed and returned to Nineveh,'⁵ and was slain 'in the house of Nisroch his god.'⁶

Hezekiah was succeeded by his son *Manasseh*, of

¹ Is. xxxvi. 6, 19.

² Is. xxxvi. 11.

³ Is. xxxvi. 21.

⁴ Is. xxxvii. 7.

⁵ Is. xxxvii. 36.

⁶ Is. xxxvii. 38.

whom it is said that 'he built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even unto the fish gate, and compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height.'¹ *Gihon*, as we have seen, was at the south of Jerusalem, and was the little glen from which issued the Fountain of Gihon, afterwards called Siloam, and this locality is confirmed by the reference here made to 'the valley,' which means invariably the Valley of Hinnom. Indeed, the whole valley, from the Upper Gihon, lying at its head on the north, to the Lower Gihon at its termination on the south, is not uncommonly called the Valley of Gihon.

As to the *Fish Gate*, the prophet Zephaniah, foreseeing in the days of Josiah that Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt, should come up against Jerusalem and assault it on the *north*, lifts the veil of futurity thus: 'It shall come to pass in that day, saith the Lord, that there shall be the noise of a cry from the *fish gate*, and an howling from the *second*, and a great crashing *from the hills*.'² As the host of an invading enemy invariably advanced against Jerusalem along the heights on the north, and as 'the great crashing from the hills' must be referred to the shouts of the tumultuous host sweeping all before it in that quarter, we are prepared to find the Fish Gate at the north of the city. Accordingly the Fish Gate, as we shall see when we come to discuss the gates of Nehemiah, stood at the north-east of the city, and is the first gate mentioned by Nehemiah in the progress of the wall northward from the Temple. It probably, therefore, passed by the name of the 'first

¹ 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

² Zeph. i. 10.

gate,' as in the following passage from the prophet Zechariah: 'From Benjamin's gate [in the Temple plateau] unto the place of the *first gate* unto the corner gate,'¹ where the prophet apparently refers to the breadth of Jerusalem above the Temple, viz. from the first gate, or Fish Gate, at the north-east angle, to the Corner Gate at the north-west angle; and the 'second' gate referred to by Zephaniah would, therefore, be the one next the Fish Gate on the west, otherwise called the 'Old Gate,' or the 'Middle Gate,' as lying between the Fish Gate and the Corner Gate.

As Gihon, therefore, was at the south and the Fish Gate at the north of Jerusalem, how could Manasseh have connected the two by a wall? As the text stands no satisfactory explanation can be offered, but the difficulty is in the translation only, and not in the original. In the Hebrew the passage runs thus: 'Now after this he built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon in the valley, *and* at the entering in at the Fish Gate, *and* he compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height.'² Thus Manasseh accomplished three distinct works, viz.: 1. A wall without the city of David on Ophel, to the west of Gihon or Siloam, along the valley, so as to enclose a larger space on the south within the High Town. 2. A wall from the Fish Gate at the north-east corner to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, so as to create an outer and second defence to the Temple Platform on the only assailable quarter. And, 3. He gave additional strength to the fortifications about Ophel, where was the royal palace. This interpretation accords in substance with the Septuagint version, which runs thus: 'After this he built a wall

¹ Zech. xiv. 10.

² 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.

without the city of David, on the west, along the south in the valley, *and* at the entering in of the Fish Gate, whereby he encompassed the Temple, &c., *and* on Ophel, &c.’¹

During the reign of Manasseh, the Temple of God was converted into a temple of idols, for a ‘grove was planted there, and altars erected to Baal and all the host of heaven;’ and, as if Manasseh could not insult the God of his fathers sufficiently in his lifetime, he built himself a tomb, not in the sepulchres of the kings of Judah, but in immediate proximity to, or under the very area of, the holy Temple; for ‘they buried him in his own house,’² or palace; or, as it is more definitely recorded in another place, ‘in the garden of his own house, in the garden of Uzza.’³ As the palace stood at the south of the Temple, the garden of Uzza was contiguous to the Temple wall; and it is not unlikely that the sepulchre was hewn out of the very rock on which the Temple was built, and therefore under its foundations. His son and successor, *Amon*, practised the same idolatrous abominations and whoredom, and was also ‘buried in his sepulchre in the garden of Uzza;’⁴ and it is to these idolatrous defilements, and to the pollution of the sanctuary by the carcasses of these two kings, that the prophet Ezekiel so indignantly alludes: ‘My holy name shall the house of Israel no more defile, neither they nor *their kings*, by their whoredom, nor by *the carcasses of their kings* in their high places; in their setting of *their threshold by my thresholds*, and *their post by my posts*, and *the wall between me and them*.

¹ See Sept. and the different readings. The passage is evidently in a mutilated state.

² 2 Chron. xxxiii. 20. ³ 2 Kings xxi. 18. ⁴ 2 Kings xxi. 26.

They have even defiled my holy name by their abominations that they have committed: wherefore I have consumed them in mine anger. Now let them put away their whoredom, and *the carcases of their kings*, far from me, and I will dwell in the midst of them for ever.¹

From Amon, we pass on successively to Josiah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, the last of the kings of Judah. It is only of *Zedekiah* that we have anything to remark. As the fate of Jerusalem drew nigh, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar, at the head of an irresistible army, pitched his camp, as all had done before him, against the northern quarter of the city. The capture appears to have been by a surprise at night upon the middle gate of the north wall.² And when the tumult of the invading host reached the ears of Zedekiah in the royal palace, at the south of the Temple, he and his body-guard 'fled and went forth out of the city by night, by the way of the king's garden, by the gate betwixt the two walls, and he went out the way of the plain [of Jericho].'³ As Nebuchadnezzar entered on the north, Zedekiah escaped to the south along the Tyropœon Valley, between the wall of Ophel on his left, and of the High Town, on his right. However, the unhappy prince was overtaken, and his eyes put out, and so he was carried to Babylon; thus fulfilling the famous prophecy of Ezekiel, that 'he should not see Babylon, though he should die there.'⁴

Thus ended the Jewish monarchy, and the demolition

¹ Ezek. xliii. 7.

² Jer. xxxix. 3.

³ Jer. xxxix. 4. 2 Kings xxv. 4.

⁴ Ezek. xii. 13.

of Jerusalem itself followed fast upon it. ‘The house of the Lord, and the king’s house, and all the houses of Jerusalem, and every great man’s house,’ and the gates of the city, were burnt with fire;¹ and the walls of Jerusalem were thrown to the ground. No language can express the utter desolation of Jerusalem so forcibly as the prophetic words of Scripture, ‘I will wipe Jerusalem as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it and turning it upside down.’²

¹ 2 Kings xxv. 9. Neh. i. 3; ii. 3.

² 2 Kings xxi. 13.

CHAPTER II.

THE WALLS OF NEHEMIAH.

THE decree of Cyrus, at the close of the captivity, extended only to the rebuilding of the Temple. ‘Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven . . . hath charged me to build him an *house* at Jerusalem.’¹ And under this decree Jeshua and Zerubbabel ‘builded the altar of the God of Israel. . . . But the foundation of the Temple of the Lord was not yet laid.’² Afterwards they ‘laid the foundation of the Temple of the Lord,’³ including, apparently, the outer wall, for their enemies made a representation to the king of Persia that the Jews were rebuilding the walls of their city: ‘The Jews which came up from thee to us are . . . building the rebellious and the bad city, and have set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations.’⁴ And as the wall of the Temple, which was about twelve feet thick, gave a colour to the charge, a decree was issued by Artaxerxes to prohibit the further prosecution of the work. ‘Then ceased the work of the *house of God*, which is at Jerusalem.’⁵ On the accession of Darius to the throne of Persia, Jeshua and Zerubbabel recommenced the restoration of the Temple, including the wall of the

¹ Ezra i. 2, 3.² Ezra iii. 2.³ Ezra iii. 10.⁴ Ezra iv. 12.⁵ Ezra iv. 24.

Outer Temple, for they 'began to build the house of God,'¹ when their enemies again stepped forward, saying, 'Who hath commanded you to build this house, and to make up this wall?'² And, on a renewed complaint to the king of Persia, search was made for the decree of Cyrus, and, when it was found, Darius permitted the Jews to proceed with the Temple; 'Let the governor of the Jews and the elders of the Jews build this *house of God* in his place;'³ and thereupon 'they builded and finished it,' and the structure and the outer walls thereof (the square of 600 feet) were completed 'on the third day of the month Adar, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king.'⁴

Thus far the rebuilding extended to the Temple only, and not to the walls of the city. Ezra afterwards obtained a decree to restore the nationality of the Jews, viz. to 'set magistrates and judges, which might judge all the people;'⁵ and afterwards Nehemiah, the cupbearer to the king, was enabled in a favourable moment to win from him express permission to rebuild the Baris, or Vestry, afterwards Antonia,⁶ and also the city: 'Send me unto Judah, unto the city of my fathers' sepulchres, that I may build it;'⁷ and a direction was given to the governors beyond the Euphrates to forward Nehemiah and his company to Jerusalem;⁸ and the king's forester was required to supply the necessary timber.⁹

Upon the strength of the royal mandate, Nehemiah arrived safely in Jerusalem, and before communicating

¹ Ezra v. 2.² Ezra v. 3.³ Ezra vi. 7.⁴ Ezra vi. 14, 15.⁵ Ezra vii. 25.⁶ The Hebrew word בֵּיתָה Baris, or castle, has been translated in the English version: 'the *palace* which appertained to the house.' Neh. ii. 8.⁷ Neh. ii. 5.⁸ Neh. ii. 7.⁹ Neh. ii. 8.

his projects to anyone, made a nocturnal survey of the state of the walls. He mounted a beast, and rode forth with a few companions: 'I went out by night by the gate of the valley, even before the dragon well.'¹ By the valley simply, without addition or qualification, is meant the Valley of Hinnom; and, when reference is made to what is now called the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the east, the phraseology is 'Kedron,' or 'the brook,' from the stream which, before the stopping of the fountains by Hezekiah, flowed along it. The Valley Gate was, therefore, that which stood at the north-west corner of the High Town, near the head of the Valley of Hinnom. What was the exact position of this gate it may be difficult to determine, as several gates in this quarter are mentioned in history. Thus, when the Romans under Titus lay before Jerusalem in the vicinity of the Jaffa Gate, the Jews made a sally from Hippicus by a secret gate;² and as Titus at this time had not mastered the wall which ran north from Hippicus, the situation of this postern must have been on the western side of the High Town, just south of Hippicus. As this was a secret gate, and Nehemiah studied secrecy, it may be the one referred to by Nehemiah. If not, Nehemiah's gate may have been the one by which the Jews sallied when Titus had possessed himself of the outer or third wall, viz. the gate by which water was conveyed into Herod's palace, now the castle of David;³ and the circumstance of the water supply coming in at this gate agrees with the account of Nehemiah, that it

¹ Neh. ii. 13.

² ἐκθέουσι κατὰ τὸν Ἰππικὸν πύργον διὰ πύλης ἀφανοῦς. — *Bell.* v. 6, 5.

³ πύλης, καθ' ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰππικὸν πύργον εἰσῆκτο. — *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

was before the Dragon *fountain* (mistranslated the Dragon *well*), which was opposite the Valley Gate, and fed by a conduit from the Dragon or Serpent Pool mentioned by Josephus as situate in this part,¹ and now known as the Birket Mamilla.

Nehemiah, after leaving the Valley Gate, descended to the Dung Gate;² and Josephus also, in tracing the western wall of the High Town, writes that it ran from Hippicus to the Gate of the Essenes at Bethso,³ the Hebrew word for a dung-place.⁴ The Essene Gate and the Dung Gate would, therefore, appear to be identical, and situate at the south-west corner of the High Town.

Nehemiah then proceeded 'to the gate of the fountain and to the king's pool.'⁵ The Gate of the Fountain was that which overlooked the Tyropœon Valley, and led down from the south-east corner of the High Town to the Fountain of Siloam; and the *King's* Pool was that which *King* Hezekiah had formed in the same valley, between the wall of the High Town on the west, and the wall of Ophel on the east. Here the heap of debris, the ruins of the city, interrupted the further progress of the beast, and Nehemiah was obliged to dismount, and advanced on foot along the eastern side of the city, 'by the brook' Kedron, and then returned by the same route back again, 'and entered by the gate of the valley.'⁶

Having found his designs practicable, Nehemiah now called upon the Jews publicly, with heart and hand, to set to work upon the walls. Some of their enemies

¹ Bell. v. 3, 2.

² Neh. ii. 13.

³ διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βηθσω καλονμένου κατατείνει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑσσηνῶν πύλην.
— Bell. v. 4, 2.

⁴ גִּיט צוֹאָה.

⁵ Neh. ii. 14.

⁶ Neh. ii. 15.

attempted to interfere, but the Jews, protected by the royal fiat, proceeded vigorously to carry out the plans of their chief. We have in Nehemiah a very curious detail of the way in which this great undertaking was distributed amongst the Priests, Levites, Nethinims, Tekoites, and people generally ; and as the sacred penman assumes the localities to be known, and is only anxious to point out the merits of the respective workmen, we are at some little trouble to trace his progress round the city. In doing so we must keep in mind the following points as essential to a right understanding of a not very lucid description.

1. The walls of the *Temple* had been already completed by Jeshua and Zerubbabel, and therefore the walls of the *city* only now engaged the attention of Nehemiah. Accordingly, in the course of the work, no allusion is made either to the walls or gates of the *Temple*, and it is only when the whole circuit had been accomplished that a solemn thanksgiving is offered in the house of the Lord.

2. As the Jews were narrowly watched by their enemies, and they every moment expected an assault, insomuch that 'every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other hand held a weapon,'¹ and a trumpet was to be blown from the quarter where succour was needed,² it is obvious that the great object in the first place was to throw up an outer wall as a protection against their foes, leaving any inner walls to a more convenient opportunity. Accordingly Nehemiah takes us from the Sheep Gate round the whole ambit of the outer wall, until he arrives at the Sheep Gate again.

¹ Neh. iv. 17.

² Neh. iv. 20.

3. A line drawn from the Temple to the Valley or Jaffa Gate would divide the city into two nearly equal parts; and Nehemiah appears, for the purpose of exciting emulation, to have distributed each class of persons into two bodies, one to labour on the north and the other on the south. Thus we have the Priests of the hill, or those who resided on the Temple Platform, occupied upon one part; and the Priests, 'the men of the plain,' who inhabited Ophel, the lower area, upon another part.¹ So the Nethinims of the hill, or those of Moriah, are distinguished from the Nethinims below the Temple, 'who dwelt in Ophel';² and so some of the Tekoites were engaged on the north of the Temple,³ and the rest on the south.⁴ And at the close of the work the whole people were distributed into two great companies, which marched along their own respective walls in opposite directions and met at the Temple, one at the northern and the other at the southern gate, i.e. one at the Prison Gate and the other at the Water Gate.⁵

We now proceed to trace the account in detail.

The enterprise was commenced by the high priest Eliashib, as the chief personage of the nation, with the Priests, his brethren; and he laid the first stone of what was called the Sheep Gate.⁶ As the work advanced in a northern direction we must look for the Sheep Gate at the north of the Temple, and it would seem to be identical with 'the high gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of the Lord,'⁷ and called the High Gate or King's Bench, because there the king of Judah sat in judgment.⁸ Attached to it was a prison, the same in which Jeremiah

¹ Neh. iii. 22.

² Neh. iii. 26.

³ Neh. iii. 5.

⁴ Neh. iii. 27.

⁵ Neh. xii. 37, 39.

⁶ Neh. iii. 1.

⁷ Jer. xx. 2.

⁸ Jer. xxxviii. 7.

was incarcerated ; for they ‘ put him in the stocks that were in the high gate of Benjamin, which was by the house of the Lord.’¹ The Gate of Benjamin was at the north of the Temple, for it is alluded to by Ezekiel as ‘ the higher gate which lieth toward the north,’² i. e. of the Temple, and was probably about the middle of the northern wall of the Temple Platform, where the present gate Bab-es-Hotta stands, at the western end of the Pool of Bethesda. That Benjamin’s Gate was the most eastern gate in the north wall of the old city, we may collect from its being opposed by the prophet to the Corner Gate at the north-west angle : ‘ It [Jerusalem] shall be lifted up and inhabited in her place, from Benjamin’s gate unto the place of the first gate, unto the corner gate.’³ Benjamin’s Gate was the principal, if not the only Gate at the north of the Temple enclosure, and this may be the reason why the high-priest here commenced the great national undertaking. The space between the eastern end of the Pool of Bethesda and the eastern wall of the city is narrow, and a gate of so much consequence as Benjamin’s Gate could scarcely have stood there.⁴ The only other mention of the Sheep Gate is in John v. 2, where it is placed by the Pool of Bethesda. There can be little doubt that the pool so called by St. John is identical with that which now bears the name, and, if so, the testimony of John as to the position of the Sheep Gate agrees with that of Nehemiah. It is remarkable that to this day the Bedouins bring their sheep to market in this quarter of

¹ Jer. xx. 2.² Ezek. ix. 2.³ Zech. xiv. 10.⁴ See a view of the little Turkish gate, Sobât, and of the road leading to it from the north at the eastern end of the Pool of Bethesda, in Traill’s Josephus, ii. 134.

the city.¹ Eliashib and his brethren *rebuilt* the Sheep Gate, which had theretofore been destroyed by the Chaldeans, but the wall running westward from the Sheep Gate to the tower of Meah, and beyond that to the tower of Hananeel, appears to have been left standing by the Chaldeans; at least there is no mention of its being rebuilt.

When Eliashib and his brethren had completed their portion they sanctified it, that is, they invoked the divine blessing upon their labours. The text runs thus: 'Then Eliashib the high priest rose up with his brethren the priests, and they *builded* the sheep gate; they *sanctified* it, and set up the doors of it; even unto the tower of Meah they *sanctified* it, unto the tower of Hananeel.'² As the tower of Hananeel was at the north-west corner of the Temple Platform, and therefore on the site afterwards occupied by the Acra or Macedonian castle, Meah must have stood between that and the Sheep Gate, where now is the gate Bab-es-Sawatar or Dewatar. That the towers of Meah and Hananeel were not far apart, and were in the immediate vicinity of the Temple, may be reasonably inferred from the fact that the portion of the wall between the Sheep Gate and Meah, and between Meah and Hananeel, was committed to the care of the high priest and his company.

'Next unto him *builded* the men of Jericho. And

¹ Kraft, 149. A recent traveller tells us that up a vaulted passage leading on the east of Pilate's House to the Haram, on the right hand, is a large birket, or pool, in ruins, and that the gate of the Haram close by is called the Sheep Gate. (Stewart, Tent and Khan, 274.) The glance obtained was a furtive one, and the locality still remains to be explored.

² Neh. iii. 1.

next to them *build*ed Zaccur, the son of Imri. But the fish gate did the sons of Hassenaah *build*.¹ These parts of the wall, therefore, had been demolished by the Chaldeans so as to require rebuilding. The Fish Gate, from this description, was one of those in the wall running out from Hananeel, at the north-west corner of the Haram, in a north-western direction. Jerome most extraordinarily places the Fish Gate on the site of the Jaffa Gate, a position wholly at variance with every Scripture statement, and manifestly erroneous. The only ground for the hypothesis must have been the conjecture that the Fish Gate was so called from the fish brought from the coast, and was therefore the gate leading to Jaffa. More probably, however, the name originated from the fish brought from the sea of Galilee, where, as we know from the occupation of the apostles, extensive fisheries were then carried on. The fish-market may also have been supplied, as it was in a later age, from Tyre, and, if so, one of the northern gates by which the fish from this quarter would arrive might very naturally have received the name of the Fish Gate.

‘And next unto them’ three private persons *repaired*; ‘and next unto them the Tekoites *repaired*’;² so that the wall in this part had not been destroyed, but broken only. These Tekoites were one of the two divisions of that body, and we shall presently find the other employed in the south.

‘Moreover the *old gate* repaired Jehoiada the son of Pascah, and Meshullam the son of Besodeiah.’³ The Old Gate was in the Asmonean valley, the natural approach to the Temple. At the north of the city were three gates: the First Gate, or Fish Gate, on the east; the Corner Gate on the west; and between them the

¹ Neh. iii. 2, 3.

² Neh. iii. 4, 5.

³ Neh. iii. 6.

Old Gate, or Middle Gate, the one by which Nebuchadnezzar entered: for 'In the ninth year of Zedekiah king of Judah, in the tenth month, came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and all his army, against Jerusalem, and they besieged it. And in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, in the fourth month, the ninth day of the month, the city was broken up, and all the princes of the king of Babylon came in, and sat in the *middle gate*.'¹ It may also have been at the Middle Gate that Titus made his attack upon the second wall, for it is expressly said that he applied the ram at 'the middle tower.'²

'And next unto them *repaired* Melatiah the Gibeonite, and Jadon the Meronothite, the men of *Gibeon* and of *Mizpah*, unto the *throne of the governor on this side the river*.'³ Both Gibeon and Mizpah were but a few miles to the north of Jerusalem, and their inhabitants would therefore be employed upon some part at the north of the city, and we should assign to them a portion of the wall running from the Old Gate to the Corner Gate, at the north-west angle of the city. We have seen that the Assyrian armies always advanced against Jerusalem from the north, and when Nebuchadnezzar took the city, the throne of his viceroy, or 'the governor on this side the river [Euphrates],' would be situate in the northern quarter; and, from the account of Nehemiah, it stood in the vicinity of the Old Gate.

'Next unto him *repaired* Uzziel the son of Harhaiah, of the goldsmiths. Next unto him also *repaired* Haniah the son of one of the apothecaries, and they fortified Jerusalem unto the *broad wall*.'⁴ The wall in this

¹ Jer. xxxix. 1.

³ Neh. iii. 7.

² τῇ μέσῃ πύργῳ. — Bell. v. 7, 4.

⁴ Neh. iii. 8.

part therefore required to be repaired only, and not rebuilt. We have now arrived at Hezekiah's wall, called the Broad wall, which, starting from the Gate of Ephraim at about the middle of the western limb of the old second wall, and taking a westerly direction, bent round the Pool of Hezekiah southward, and so joined the first wall, or the wall of the High Town, near the gate Gennath. As 400 cubits of the wall from the gate of Ephraim to the Corner Gate were broken down by Jehoash,¹ the Gate of Ephraim must have stood 600 feet to the south of the Corner Gate.

'Next unto them repaired Rephaiah the son of Hur, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem,'² and who, we may surmise, was ruler of the northern half. And next after him repaired successively four private persons, and one of them '*over against his house*,'³ which shows that occasionally the portions of the wall built or repaired were very small. Then '*Malchijah the son of Harim, and Hashub the son of Pahath-moab, repaired the other piece, and the tower of the furnaces*.'⁴ This tower was probably either at the projecting elbow of Hezekiah's wall, or at the junction of Hezekiah's wall to the north wall of the High Town.

Between this tower and the Jaffa Gate would still remain a piece of wall, and it is said that '*next unto him repaired Shallum the son of Halohesh, the ruler of the half part of Jerusalem, he and his daughters*.'⁵ And as this piece of wall belonged to the southern portion of Jerusalem, Shallum was probably ruler of the southern part, and resided in the castle on the site of the present castle of David. This portion of the northern wall of the High Town was the part after-

¹ 2 Kings xiv. 13. ² Chron. xxv. 23.

³ Neh. iii. 9.

⁴ Neh. iii. 10.

⁵ Neh. iii. 11.

⁶ Neh. iii. 12.

wards made impregnable by the famous towers of Herod, Hippicus and Phasaelus. The third tower of Herod, Mariamne, probably stood, not exactly in the line of the other two, but a little southward.¹

We have now completed the northern half of the walls, and proceed to the southern.

'The valley gate repaired Hanun, and the inhabitants of Zanoah, . . . and a thousand cubits on the wall unto the dung gate.'² The Valley Gate, as we have seen, stood on or near the site of the present Jaffa Gate; and the 1,000 cubits, or 1,500 feet, take us to the southwestern corner, or nearly so, of the High Town, where Nehemiah places the Dung Gate. Josephus traces the same wall from Hippicus to the Gate of the Essenes at Bethso,³ or the dung-place,⁴ and the Essene Gate and the Dung Gate are therefore identical.

'The dung gate repaired Malchiah the son of Rechab, the ruler of part of Beth-haccerem; he built it, and set up the doors thereof, the locks thereof, and the bars thereof. But the *gate of the fountain* repaired Shal-lun the son of Col-hozeh; . . . and the *wall of the pool of Siloah by the king's garden*, and unto the *stairs that go down from the city of David*.'⁵ As Nehemiah makes no mention of the wall between the Dung Gate and the Fountain Gate, this part of the fortifications had probably not been demolished by the Chaldeans. The Fountain Gate was that which led down from the High Town to the fountain *par excellence*, viz. Siloam; and, if so, Nehemiah also passes over the intervening Potter's Gate, which stood between the Dung Gate and the Fountain Gate on the south of the city, opposite the bed of clay⁶ called, from the pottery there, the Potter's

¹ See post.

² Neh. iii. 13.

³ Bell. v. 4.

⁴ See ante, p. 297.

⁵ Neh. iii. 14, 15.

⁶ Schultz, 39.

field, and afterwards Aceldama, or field of blood.¹ The Potter's Gate is alluded to by Jeremiah: 'Thus saith the Lord, Go and get a potter's earthen bottle . . . and go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the *potter's gate*,² and proclaim there the words that I shall tell thee.'³ And again, 'Arise, and go down to the potter's house, and there I will cause thee to hear my words. Then I went down to the potter's house, and behold, he wrought a work on the wheels. And the vessel that he made of clay was marred in the hand of the potter; so he made it again another vessel, as seemed good to the potter to make it.'⁴ The latter passage is that alluded to by St. Paul in the well-known text: 'Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour.'⁵

It has been much disputed whether the wall of the city, on reaching the Tyropœon Valley, made a crook, or bend, by running up the eastern side of the High Town, and then down the western side of Ophel to Siloam, or whether it crossed the mouth of the Tyropœon in a direct line from the High Town to Ophel. As the Jews under Nehemiah were building in the greatest haste to protect themselves from a hostile assault, momentarily expected, they may for the time have taken the short cut across the Tyropœon, upon the broad embankment which formed the southern dam of the King's Pool, constructed by Hezekiah, and which still remains. But, that the permanent wall of the city,

¹ Rob. i. 239.

² Translated in our version by a different reading, 'the east gate,' whereas it was at the south. See Thrupp, 128.

³ Jer. xix. 1.

⁴ Jer. xviii. 2.

⁵ Rom. ix. 21.

from the earliest to the latest time, ran some way up the western side of the High Town, now called Sion, and down the eastern side of Ophel, may be almost demonstrated. Thus we have seen that Hezekiah, in order to preserve the waters of Siloam for the use of the city, 'made also a ditch [or, as it should be rendered, a pool] *between the two walls* for the water of the old pool;' ¹ and when Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans took the city on the north at the 'middle gate,' the king, in his palace at the south of the Temple, took fright, and 'went forth out of the city by night, by the way of the king's garden, by the gate *betwixt the two walls*;' ² and the two walls in the above passages can only be accounted for on the supposition that the southern wall ran up the eastern side of the High Town, and then down the western side of Ophel. Josephus also tells us distinctly that the southern wall '*made a bend* over Siloam, and then again deflected, with its face to the east, to Solomon's Pool [on the south of the Temple], and then stretching up to a place called Ophla, joined the eastern cloister of the Temple.'³ And again, had the wall crossed the mouth of the Tyropæon, Josephus could not have said, as he does, that on the south, where was only one wall, the city was defended by inaccessible ravines; for the wall, had it crossed at the mouth, would have offered an assailable point.⁴ This bend over Siloam may be one of the sinuosities of the wall alluded to by Tacitus: 'The two hills, which were of vast height, were shut in by walls artificially tortuous, or *forming bays inwards*;' ⁵ for the word bay exactly

¹ Is. xxii. 11.

² Jer. xxxix. 4. 2 Kings xxv. 4.

³ Bell. v. 4, 2.

⁴ Bell. v. 4, 2.

⁵ 'Nam duos colles immensum editos claudebant muri, per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati.' — Tac. Hist. v. 11.

answers to the bend of the wall in this part, which was something in the form of a horseshoe.

In the tract within this curve, which is still very fertile,¹ and reaching thence down to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, were the king's gardens; and Nehemiah, by the words, 'the wall of the pool of Siloam, by the king's garden,' means probably the curve of the wall round the valley.

The Fountain of Siloam itself was without the walls, for Siloam was anciently called Gihon, and Josephus speaks of the fountain Gihon as being without the city;² and again, in the siege by Titus, and before he was master of the city, Josephus tells the Jews that the fountains, which before the arrival of Titus had been dried up, flowed again at his coming, '*both Siloam and all those without the city.*'³ But the fountain lay just beneath the wall,⁴ and was commanded by it; and the possession of it was, therefore, of importance: and in the feud between Simon and John, when Jerusalem was invested by the Romans, the fountain, that is, Siloam, was held by Simon.⁵ No doubt the wall of Ophel had been carried down to the very apex of Ophel, in order to protect the fountain; and at this extreme point must have stood the tower of Siloam, which, in the time of our Lord, fell and slew eighteen persons.⁶ The gradual undermining of the rock had probably loosened the foundations of the building. As Siloam lay under the southern point of Ophel, it marked the extent of the city in that direction; whence Nea-

¹ Tobl. Top. i. 25.

² See ante, p. 251.

³ τήν τε Σιλωάμ . . . καὶ τὰς ἐξω τοῦ ἁστειος ἀπάσας.—Bell. v. 9, 4.

⁴ See view of Siloam from the north, in Barclay, 525; from the south, in Bartlett's Jerus. 68.

⁵ Bell. v. 6, 1.

⁶ Luke xiii. 4.

politanus, who, on his mission from Cestius entered Jerusalem from the north, is said to have been conducted throughout it down to Siloam.¹ The approach to the fountain from the western hill, now called Sion, was by the Gate of the Fountain, and from the eastern hill by the stairs mentioned by Nehemiah as ‘going down from the city of David,’ that is from Ophel, which was part of the city of David. When the two companies of them that gave thanks at the conclusion of the work of Nehemiah made the circuit of the walls in opposite directions, one of them took the southward route, and proceeded from the Valley Gate to the Dung Gate, and thence to the Fountain Gate; and thence ‘they went up by the *stairs of the city of David* at the *going up of the wall above the house of David*, even unto the *water gate eastward*.’² The meaning is that the procession paraded the walls from the Valley or Jaffa Gate to the Dung Gate at the south-west corner of the High Town, and thence to the Fountain Gate, or the south-east corner of the High Town, and at the latter point (instead of following the curve of the wall round the Tyropæon Valley) they made their exit at the Fountain Gate, and crossed over to the stairs leading up to the wall on Ophel. These stairs were just opposite to the Fountain Gate, and at the southern point of Ophel, and the latter feature is expressed by Nehemiah under the words, ‘at the *going up of the wall*,’ i. e. where the wall of Ophel turned northward and ran up the eastern side of Ophel to the Temple.

‘And after him (i. e. from the stairs) repaired Nehemiah . . . unto the place over against the *sepulchres of David*, and to the *pool that was made*, and unto the

¹ μέχρι τοῦ Σιλοᾶ. — *Bell.* ii. 16, 2.

² *Neh.* xii. 37.

*house of the mighty.*¹ What is now called the Tomb of David, in the High Town, has no just claim to that character. If a tomb at all, it is that of a single person, and not 'the sepulchres of David,' the mausoleum of the kings of Judah. It is hardly conceivable that the kings of Judah were, in contravention of Jewish customs, buried *within* the walls. The expressions, 'in Jerusalem,' 'in the city of David,' 'in the city of Judah,' all mean the same thing, viz. *at* Jerusalem; and from one passage it would seem that the sepulchres of the kings (except those of Manasseh and Amon) were *without* the walls, for Uzziah the leper was 'buried *with his fathers* in the *field of the burial* which belonged to the kings.'² Josephus also relates, that when Herod, who was residing in his palace in the High Town, conceived the design of plundering the tomb of David, as Hyrcanus had done before, he was anxious to elude the observation of those 'in the city';³ from which the inference arises that the tomb itself lay without the city; for if both the palace and the tomb were within it, the words 'in the city' would have been superfluous. If it be said that the tomb of David, as it contained vast treasures, could not have been without the walls, and therefore exposed to the rapacity of every invading enemy, the answer is, that the supposition of any such deposit of treasure is incredible on the face of it: and the explanation of the legend about Hyrcanus and Herod is, that, when the Jewish princes were under great pressure, they laid their hands on the Corban, or treasures of the Temple; but, as this could not be publicly acknowledged, it was given out to the credulous multitude that the newly

¹ Neh. iii. 16.

² 2 Chron. xxvi. 23.

³ ἐν τῇ πόλει. — Ant. xvi. 7, 1.

acquired ingots of gold were recovered from the coffers of the dead. Rejecting the traditional tomb of David on the hill now called Sion, we should say that 'the sepulchres of David' referred to by Nehemiah are the tombs cut out of the rock at the village of Siloam, just opposite the point of Ophel,¹ and, in that case, 'the pool that was made' would be the Fountain of the Virgin, higher up the Valley of Jehoshaphat. 'The pool that was made' is very emphatic, as this small pool has been entirely excavated out of the hard rock, and is approached by two flights of steps. The 'house of the mighty' is not mentioned elsewhere, but must have been some public building of note at that time, and, perhaps, on the site afterwards occupied by one of the palaces of the Adiabene princes in this locality, more particularly as Josephus also makes the wall run to the palace of Monobazus.²

We now come to the neighbourhood of the Temple; and here the repairs are taken up by the Priests, Levites, Nethinims, and Tekoites, the servants of the Temple.

'And after him repaired the Levites.'³ And Nehemiah then enumerates the repairs of some small pieces as far as 'over against the going up to the *armoury* at the *turning of the wall*.'⁴ By the armoury must be meant 'the tower of David, builded for an armoury, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men.'⁵ At the armoury there was 'a turning of the wall;' that is, the wall made an angle, and, apparently, a reentering one, or nook.

¹ See the view of the sepulchres at the village of Siloam in Bartlett's Jerusalem, 110.

² Bell. v. 6, 1.

³ Neh. iii. 17.

⁴ Neh. iii. 19.

⁵ Sol. Song iv. 4.

‘After him Baruch the son of Zabbai earnestly repaired the other piece, from the *turning* of the wall unto the *door* of the house of Eliashib the high priest. After him repaired Meremoth the son of Urijah the son of Koz another piece, from the *door* of the house of Eliashib even to *the end of the house of Eliashib*.¹ The last words show how trifling some of the pieces repaired by the Levites were.

‘And after him repaired the priests, the men of the plain.’² The wall is now taken up by the Priests, who lived *below* the Temple; and Nehemiah makes mention of three persons who repaired ‘unto the *turning of the wall*, even unto the *corner*.’³ The wall, therefore, here made another angle; and as the Hebrew word in this place for ‘turning’ is used as synonymous with ‘corner,’ or a projecting angle, the wall here made an elbow outward.

‘Palal the son of Uzai, over against *the turning of the wall*, and the *tower which lieth out* from the *king’s high house* that was by the *court of the prison*.’⁴ The king’s house is, of course, the royal palace, and the situation of it was, as already explained, at the south of the Temple; and the court of the prison was attached to the palace, and here it was that the prophet Jeremiah was incarcerated by Zedekiah: he ‘was shut up in the court of the prison which was in the king of Judah’s house.’⁵ The royal palace was not restored after the captivity, but the people could better spare the palace than the prison, for the latter was continued to the last on the same spot, under the name of the Hippodrome.⁶

¹ Neh. iii. 20.

² Neh. iii. 24.

³ Jer. xxxii. 2.

⁴ Neh. iii. 22.

⁵ Neh. iii. 25.

⁶ Ant. xvii. 10, 2.

‘After him Pedaiah the son of Parosh. Moreover, the Nethinims [that] dwelt in Ophel, unto the place over against the *water gate toward the east*, and the *tower that lieth out.*’¹ The Water Gate proper was that of the Inner Temple, to the south of the altar, and led down to the great southern gate of the Outer Temple which was probably also called the Water Gate; so that this piece of the wall was opposite to the southern gate of the Outer Temple, or rather was the part of the wall which made the nearest approach to the Water Gate. The wall here turned ‘towards the east’ to ‘the tower that lieth out;’ so that here was another angle. It was from the number of towers in this quarter that Ophel derived its name, the Hebrew word Ophel signifying ‘towers.’²

‘After them the Tekoites repaired another piece over against the great tower that lieth out even unto the wall of Ophel.’³ Josephus tells us that the city wall from the south joined the eastern cloister of the Temple at Ophel.⁴ And again, that Titus, when in possession of the Temple, burnt the council-house, &c.; and what was called Ophla.⁵ Ophel, or Ophla, therefore, was a particular place at the south-east corner of the Temple, and not to be confounded with Ophel, used at the present day to denote the whole eastern hill.

‘From above the *horse gate* repaired the priests [of Moriah] every one over against his house. After them repaired Zadok the son of Immer over against his house. After him repaired also Shemaiah the son of Shechaniah, the keeper of the *east gate*. After him repaired

¹ Neh. iii. 25, 26.

² *לפך*. But in Simon's Lexicon the word is rendered tumuli.

³ Neh. iii. 27.

⁴ Bell. v. 2.

⁵ Bell. vi. 6, 3.

Hananiah another piece. After him repaired Meshullam the son of Berechiah, over against his chamber.¹ The Horse Gate stood in or near the angle where the city wall from the south met the southern end of the eastern cloister of the Temple; and in this part the Priests repaired eastward to the south-east corner of the Haram; then northward as far as the chambers of the priests reached. These chambers, or lodgings, of the priests appear to have stood partly in Ophla, at the south of the Temple, and partly upon the substructions to the east of the Temple, at the south-east corner of the Haram. As the chambers were of small dimensions, the columns of the vaults would be adequate to this purpose, though not calculated to bear the pressure of a more weighty superstructure. Shemaiah is described as the ‘keeper of the east gate,’ by which is probably meant the east gate more than once referred to by Josephus,² viz. the Corinthian or Beautiful Gate of the Temple, the eastern portal leading up to the court of the women. The south-east corner of the Outer Temple,³ from which the commencement and close of each Sabbath were proclaimed, overlooked these chambers.⁴

‘After him repaired Malchiah the *goldsmith's* son unto the place of the *Nethinims*, and of the *merchants*, over against the gate Miphkad and to the going up of the corner.’⁵ Where the chambers of the priests ended, the dwellings of the Nethinims and the goldsmiths and merchants began, who accordingly continued the repairs. The gate Miphkad is now the Golden

¹ Neh. iii. 28.

² Bell. vi. 4, 4; vi. 6, 1.

³ τὸ περὶ γίον τοῦ ἱεροῦ. — *Matt.* iv. 5.

⁴ πεζοφόρια. — *Bell.* iv. 9, 12.

⁵ Neh. iii. 31.

Gate, and the going up of the corner is where the wall makes an angle up to ascend westward, and is now the north-east corner of the Haram.

‘Between the *going up of the corner* unto the *sheep gate* repaired the goldsmiths and the merchants.’¹ The marginal reading for the going up of the corner is, the corner ‘chamber;’ but even this does not express the force of the original word, which signifies an upper chamber.² The principal towers of Jerusalem (as Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, and all those of the third wall) were solid at the base, with a guard chamber erected above; and the upper chamber here referred to must be taken to mean that erected over the solid square of the base. The latter had probably been left standing by Nebuchadnezzar, while the chamber over it had been destroyed, and the goldsmiths and merchants now restored the tower to its former state, and completed the wall between it and the Sheep Gate.³ Krafft admits the received translation, and thinks that there was here a going up in the sense of a flight of steps leading from the exterior into the Temple Platform. There is certainly sufficient space for a passage, and there is at the present day a passage but not by steps, to and from the Haram, between the Pool of Bethesda and the city wall.

Thus we have made the whole circuit of the walls, and come again to the point from which we started.

When the walls were completed, the priests and Levites, and the people, were divided into two great

¹ Neh. iii. 32.

² ‘*קִבְּצָה* cubiculum superius, *ὑπερώιον*.’ — *Simon's Lex.*

³ See view, from the east, of the remains of the tower at the north-east corner of the Haram, in Traill's Josephus, i. p. xlii.; and from the north, in Traill's Josephus, ii. p. 134.

companies, who were respectively to traverse their own portions of the wall in opposite directions, and to meet in the Temple. At the head of one was Nehemiah, and at the head of the other was Ezra the scribe. The point from which they both set out is left to implication ; but it was clearly the Valley Gate, lying due west of, and diametrically opposite to, the Temple on the east. The account of the peregrination of Nehemiah is given the most in detail. The northern wall had been repaired, it will be remembered, in the following order :—

1. The Sheep Gate.
2. The Tower of Meah.
3. The Tower of Hananeel.
4. The Fish Gate.
5. The Old Gate.
6. The Broad Wall.
7. The Tower of the Furnaces.

And Nehemiah and his company, setting out from the Valley Gate, now paraded successively in reverse order ‘from beyond the *tower of the furnaces*, even unto the *broad wall*, and from above the gate of Ephraim [not mentioned before], and above the *old gate*, and above the *fish gate*, and the *tower of Hananeel*, and the *tower of Meah*, even unto the *sheep gate*.’¹ We have before explained that the Sheep Gate was in the wall of the city, and not of the Temple ; and it is added that, after having passed the Sheep Gate, ‘they stood still in the *prison gate*,’² which was one of the northern gates of the Inner Temple. It was so called, say the Talmudists, because through it Jeconiah was led to prison,³ but this

¹ Neh. xii. 38, 39.

² Neh. xii. 39.

³ Fergusson, 24. ;

is somewhat apocryphal, and we can assign another more probable origin of the name ; for on the northern side of the Temple, and attached to the High Gate of Benjamin, was the prison, or King's Bench,¹ and the Gate of the Temple, which looked towards or led to the prison, may well have been called the Prison Gate. Its position would therefore be opposite, or nearly so, to the most eastern of the three northern gates of the court of the priests, and so facing the high altar. Thus the company of Nehemiah moved from the Sheep Gate in the city wall to the Prison Gate of the Temple, on the northern side of the great altar ; and here for the present we leave them.

The southern portion of the wall had been repaired in the following order :—

1. The Valley Gate.
2. The Dung Gate.
3. The Fountain Gate.
4. The Stairs of the city of David.
5. The Wall of Ophel or Ophla.

Ezra and his company now ascending the wall at the *valley gate* 'went on the right hand upon the wall toward the *dung gate*: . . . And at the *fountain gate*, which was over against them, they went up by the *stairs of the city of David*, at the going up of the wall, above the house of David, even unto the *water gate eastward*.'²

As the procession was moving from the Fountain Gate at Siloam to the Temple, it is clear that the *city of David* can here mean only, or at least included, that part of the Low Town which stood on Ophel.

It must not be supposed from the word 'eastward' that

¹ See ante, p. 299.

² Neh. xii. 31, 37.

the Water Gate was an eastern gate ; for 'eastward' means only that the company, having started from the Valley Gate on the west, paraded eastward as far as the Water Gate. The Water Gate was properly the most eastern of the three *southern* gates of the court of the priests, and led down to the southern gate of the *outer* Temple, called perhaps the Water Gate also, and so to 'the street of the house of God,'¹ or 'the street that was before the water gate,'² or 'east street,'³ as being the street lying most to the east, but itself running north and south. Nehemiah, by the Water Gate, means certainly here the southern gate either of the Outer or Inner Temple ; for he adds, after having brought both companies, the one to the Prison Gate and the other to the Water Gate, 'so stood the two companies of them that gave thanks *in the house of God*,'⁴ and as they proceeded to offer sacrifices on the high altar, we should infer that the Water Gate was that of the Inner Temple.

Thus Nehemiah and his company were ranged on the north side of the altar, at the Prison Gate ; and Ezra and his company opposite to them, on the south side, by the Water Gate.

¹ Neh. x. 9.

² Neh. viii. 1, 3, 16.

³ 2 Chron. xxix. 4.

⁴ Neh. xii. 40.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE MACCABEES.

FROM the erection of the walls by Nehemiah, to the demolition of them by Antiochus Epiphanes, nothing of topographical interest occurs. During the interval, the storm of Alexander's conquests swept over the East, but the reed of Judah bowed its head, and was bent without being broken. The Jewish state (an aristocracy under the Sanhedrim and the High Priest), though there was often a difficulty in properly trimming the vessel between the Scylla of Egypt under the Ptolemies, and the Charybdis of Syria under the Seleucidæ, yet held on its course without utter prostration on the one hand, or triumphant exaltation on the other. It was the galling yoke of Antiochus Epiphanes that called forth the heroic virtues of the Maccabees, and led eventually to the reestablishment of the national independence.

In B.C. 168, Antiochus Epiphanes, enraged at the leaning of the nation towards the Ptolemies, took possession of the city, demolished the walls, offered every conceivable pollution in the Temple and on the altar, and entered upon the design of extirpating the Jewish religion, and substituting the idolatry of the Greeks. With this view he erected the celebrated Acra, or citadel, called the City of David, and garrisoned it with Macedonians, who for many a long year were a

festering thorn in the side of Jerusalem. 'Then builded they the *city of David*, with a great and strong wall and mighty towers, and made it a stronghold for them.'¹

Josephus refers to the erection of the Acra thus: 'Having thrown down the walls of the city, he [Antiochus] built the Acra in the *Low Town*. For it was high and *overhanging the Temple*, and for this reason he fortified it with strong towers, and set in it a Macedonian garrison.'² The Low Town consisted of the Inner Low Town, to the west of the Temple; the Middle Low Town, or Temple Platform, and the Outer Low Town, to the south of the Temple. As Josephus represents the Acra as overhanging the Temple, it must have stood on the Platform to the north of the Temple, and therefore of course in the Low Town. The exact position may be collected from the following brief but pregnant passage in the Maccabees:—'And [Simon] fortified the *Mount of the Temple*, that was *by the side of the Acra*, and dwelt there himself and his people.'³ Here we have mention made or implied—1st, of the Temple; 2nd, of the Mount of the Temple (where Simon fixed his residence, and therefore distinct from the Temple itself); and 3rd, of the Acra, by the side of the Temple Mount. The Temple, as we shall see hereafter, stood at the south-west corner of the Haram. Above it was the Mount of the Temple, the Baris of the Maccabees, and the Antonia of Herod; and next it, on the north, was the Acra.

This site was so commanding, that the Macedonian

¹ 1 Macc. i. 33.

² Ant. xii. 5, 4.

³ καὶ προσωχύρωσε τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ παρὰ τὴν Ἀκραν, καὶ ἔκει ἐκεῖ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ. — 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

garrison overawed the Temple, and became a snare to the worshippers of Jehovah. 'It was a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel.'¹ 'They made themselves a tower, out of which they issued, and polluted all about the sanctuary, and did much hurt in the holy place.'² Thus, in a short time, from the incubus of the Acra, 'Jerusalem lay void as a wilderness; there was none of her children that went in or out; the sanctuary also was trodden down; . . . and joy was taken from Jacob, and the pipe with the harp ceased.'³

As from this time the Acra domineered over the Low Town, the Acra gradually extended its name to the Low Town itself, which from thenceforth came to be better known as Acra: on the other hand, the City of David contracted itself, for while it had denoted at first Jerusalem generally, and then the part added by David, or the Low Town, it now in the Maccabees signified exclusively the Macedonian fortress which overawed the Low Town.

The coldest chill of the night is just before daybreak; and now sprang to life the chivalrous family of the Maccabees, the priest Mattathias, and his five valiant sons. The fine old patriarch was soon gathered to his fathers; but Judas, the lion of Israel, at the head of a little band of patriots, pursued his wonderful career through good report and ill report, undismayed by defeat, a thunderbolt when victor; until at the end of three years from the first outrage of Antiochus, he marched triumphantly into Jerusalem, and was master of the whole city, with the exception of the Acra

¹ 1 Macc. i. 36.

² 1 Macc. xiv. 36; and see vi. 18.

³ 1 Macc. iii. 45.

itself. It was a sorry sight, for 'they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burnt up, and the shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or in one of the mountains, yea, and the priests' chambers pulled down.'¹ Nor was it an easy task to remove all these pollutions in the face of the Acra, which overlooked the Temple.² However, while some laboured in the sanctuary, others were employed in watching the Macedonian keep,³ and thus at last the Temple and altar were purified, and the holy place again consecrated to Jehovah, the anniversary of which was ever afterwards observed as the Feast of Dedication.⁴

To guard against a repetition of these defilements of the Temple, Judas now secured the Temple and the circumjacent area called 'The liberties of the Temple,'⁵ by restoring the outer bulwarks. 'At that time also they builded up the *Mount Sion*, with *high walls* and *strong towers round about*, lest the Gentiles should come and tread it down as they had done before.'⁶ In the Old Testament, Sion was Jerusalem generally, but here it has a more restricted sense, and designates only the Temple Mount, on which Antonia afterwards stood. That the walls now built by Judas were not those of the Temple itself, but of the precincts about it, may be concluded from the mention of towers, for the outer wall of the Temple had never any towers.⁷

¹ 1 Macc. iv. 38.

² ἐπέκειτο γὰρ τῷ ἱερῷ ἡ ἄκρα. — *Ant.* xii. 9, 3.

³ *Ant.* xii. 7, 6. 1 Macc. iv. 41.

⁴ Or Renovation, Ἐγκαίνια; on 25 Chisleu.

⁵ 1 Macc. x. 43.

⁶ 1 Macc. iv. 60.

⁷ Josephus adds that Judas repaired also the walls of the city, *τειχίσας ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν πόλιν*. — *Ant.* xii. 7, 7. But Josephus

The fortification erected in order to counteract the evil effects of the Acra at the north-west corner of the Temple Platform was the Baris, or fort on the mount between the Temple and the Acra. This monticule was higher than the Temple, and commanded it; but was lower than the Acra.

When Judas had secured the Temple, he naturally cherished the hope of reducing the Acra itself, and so killing the venomous reptile which had thus fastened itself upon the very vitals of the city. He therefore laid siege to the Acra, and prepared engines of war, and would have carried it by assault.¹ But the Macedonians sent intelligence to Antiochus Eupator, who in B.C. 164 had succeeded Antiochus Epiphanes, and the relief of the Acra was thought of such importance that Eupator himself, at the head of a numerous army, hastened to its aid by way of Bethsura, the border town of Judea, towards Idumea.² This movement had the desired effect; for Judas, abandoning the siege of Acra, marched to Bethsura, where he fought a bloody battle, in which his brother, Eleazar, after prodigies of valour, was slain. Judas found himself unable to cope with the vast numbers of the enemy, and retired to Jerusalem, and prepared to sustain a siege behind the strong walls and towers of the Temple Platform. Eupator,

evidently had no other authority than the Book of Maccabees, which mentions only the fortification of Sion. However, the walls of Sion formed part of those of the city.

¹ 1 Macc. vi. 20. Ant. xii. 9, 3.

² Fergusson writes: 'Bethzur, a name in the Maccabees, continually applied to the tower Antonia,' &c. (Fergusson, 60); but he could scarcely have read the following passage: 'Simon fortified the cities of Judah, together with *Bethsura*, that lieth upon the borders of *Judea*.' — 1 Macc. xiv. 33. Bethsura was not at Jerusalem, but at some distance to the south.

meanwhile, became master of Bethsura ; ‘ for they came out of the city, because they had no victuals there to endure the siege, it being a year of rest to the land,’¹ i.e. the sabbatic year, which fixes the capture to B.C. 163.

Eupator now followed Judas to Jerusalem, and besieged him in the Temple Platform. Mounds and towers and engines of war were employed by the Syrian host, and on the side of Judas were mines and ballists and desperate sallies. Provisions in the little garrison, from the effects of the sabbatic year, began to run short, when a diversion arose from an unexpected quarter. Intelligence was brought that Philip was in arms, and daily increasing his army to enter the lists with Eupator for the crown of Syria. It was no time for dallying, and Eupator, after a council of war, resolved on patching up a peace. He therefore offered the honourable terms, that Judas should acknowledge the Syrian supremacy, but the Jews should live in the peaceful observance of their own religion, and the walls of the Temple Mount should remain intact. The treaty was concluded, and Eupator was admitted into the Temple Mount ; but when he saw the impregnable fortifications by which it was begirt, he sacrificed his honour to policy. ‘ Then the king entered into Mount Sion, but when he saw the strength of the place, he broke his oath that he had made, and gave commandment to pull down the wall round about.’² Eupator now appointed Alcimus, his own creature, high priest, and then advanced against Philip, whom he made captive and put to death.

Jerusalem was thus once more left naked to her

¹ 1 Macc. vi. 49.

² Macc. vi. 62. Ant. xii. 9, 7.

enemies, and the Macedonians in the Acra were again tyrants of the city. The apostate Alcimus even proposed that the walls of the Inner Temple, which, as standing on an eminence, would long bid defiance to any enemy, as they did in the time of Titus, should be thrown to the ground; but ere he could carry out his purpose he was struck by palsy, and dropped into his grave.¹

In B.C. 162 Eupator was succeeded by Demetrius Soter, who, as Judas was represented to be still maintaining himself in the campagna of Judæa, sent Nicanor with a powerful army to disperse the little band of patriots. Judas gave Nicanor battle and defeated him, when Nicanor retired into the Acra at Jerusalem. 'There were slain of Nicanor's side about 5,000 men, and the rest fled into the city of David.'² As Nicanor was coming down from the Acra to the Temple,³ the high priest met him and tendered submission; but Nicanor was furious at his late overthrow, and threatened to destroy the Temple itself unless Judas were delivered up. However, he dared not abide the approach of Judas, but retreated to Bethoron, where he engaged in battle with Judas and was slain.⁴ Not long after, another army was sent by Demetrius, under

¹ 1 Macc. ix. 54. Ant. xii. 10, 6.

² 1 Macc. vii. 32. The passage in Josephus, καὶ νικήσας [Nicanor] ἀναγκάζει τὸν Ἰούδαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν φυγεῖν (Ant. xii. 10, 4), is evidently corrupt. It should be καὶ νικήσας ὁ Ἰούδας ἀναγκάζει τὸν Νικάνορα ἐπὶ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν φυγεῖν.

³ εἶ δὲ αὐτῷ κατιόντι ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. — Ant. xii. 10, 5. 1 Macc. vii. 33. This passage also shows that the Acra was above the Temple, and therefore to the north of it.

⁴ Ant. xii. 10, 5. 1 Macc. vii. 43.

the command of Bacchides, and the heroic Judas fell in the fight.¹ This was in B. c. 156.

The lion of the Maccabean family was no more, but his brother Jonathan, scarcely less valiant, and perhaps more able in counsel, now stepped into his place. The fortunes of the patriots were at the lowest ebb. Bacchides on his victory advanced to Jerusalem, and strengthened the Acra still more, and placed in it numerous hostages which he now wrung from the Jews.² Jonathan and his trusty followers meanwhile yielded to necessity, and, retiring to a distance, maintained their freedom in the desert.

It was in B. c. 152 that Alexander Bala, a competitor for the throne of Syria, landed at Acra, to try the chances of war with Demetrius. The danger was imminent, and Jonathan, who had been made an outcast, was now to be conciliated; and Demetrius wrote to him as a friend, and commissioned him to levy troops, and gave orders that the hostages in the Acra should be restored. Jonathan lost no time in seizing upon so favourable an opportunity, and, without returning any answer to Demetrius, marched to Jerusalem and received back the hostages, and busied himself at once in repairing the fortifications of the city, and particularly in renewing and improving the outworks of the Temple Platform: 'And he commanded the workmen to build the walls and the Mount Sion round about with square stones for fortification, and they did so.'³ The eastern wall of the Temple Mount, however, was not completed, and the walls of the city were not carried to

¹ Ant. xii. 11, 22. 1 Macc. ix. 18.

² μάλιστα δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἄκραν ἰσχύρωσε, etc. — Ant. xiii. 1, 3. 1 Macc. ix. 52.

³ 1 Macc. x. 11. Ant. xiii. 2, 1.

any great height. The antagonistic forces of the rival princes were so evenly balanced, that the favour of Jonathan on either side might turn the scale, and Alexander, to win him over, sent him a crown of gold and a purple robe, and nominated him high priest.¹ Jonathan had suffered so much from Demetrius that he naturally leaned to the opposite party, and accepted with readiness the proffered friendship of Alexander. This was a fortunate decision, for Demetrius was defeated and slain, and in B.C. 150 Alexander Bala became king of Syria. Jonathan was now a favoured prince, but still a feudatory of Syria, and could never prevail on Alexander to withdraw the Macedonian garrison from the Acra.

In B.C. 145 Demetrius Nicator succeeded to the throne of Syria, and Jonathan thought it a seasonable opportunity to rid himself of the Acra. He therefore laid siege to it, but intelligence was sent off to Demetrius, and Jonathan was commanded to desist.² He afterwards made presents to Demetrius, and endeavoured by fair words to obtain the dismissal of the garrison; but the king was inexorable, and the poisoned barb planted in the side of Jerusalem still rankled there.³

In B.C. 137 Antiochus Sidetes became king of Syria, and Jonathan, who had taken his part in the contest against Demetrius, was in high favour at court, and now earnestly exhorted the people to raise the height of the city walls, and to restore the eastern wall of the Temple Mount, which had been thrown down and never thoroughly repaired; and not only so, but also to draw

¹ 1 Macc. x. 20. Ant. xiii. 2, 3.

² 1 Macc. xi. 20. Ant. xiii. 4, 9.

³ Ant. xiii. 5, 2. 1 Macc. xi. 41.

a wall round the Acra, so as to starve the garrison into surrender.¹ Jonathan, however, did not live to see his designs accomplished, but shortly afterwards fell into a snare by the treachery of his adversaries, and was put to death.²

Of the five Maccabean brothers,—Judas, Jonathan, Eleazar, and John had come to a violent end, and Simon alone survived. Nothing daunted by the fate of his fraternity, he at once stood forth as the champion of national freedom, and was unanimously elected high priest. Fortunately, at this time, the Syrian empire was tottering to its fall, and the competitors for the throne paid little attention to what was passing in Judea. Simon, therefore, disclaimed all allegiance to the Seleucidæ, and from the first year of his pontificate was dated the independence of the Jewish people.³ Simon now made all haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem; ⁴ and then completed the circumvallation round the Acra, with the view of starving out the Macedonian garrison, too strongly entrenched to be taken by assault. Relief, though earnestly implored, arrived not from Syria, and at last the Acra surrendered, and Simon took possession of it ‘with thanksgiving and branches of palm-trees, and with harps and cymbals, and with viols

¹ συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντ’ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν Ἰωνάθης συμβουλεύετο τά τε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπικατασκευάσασθαι τείχη, καὶ τὸ καθρημένον τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν περιβόλου πάλιν ἀναστήσαι, etc. — *Ant.* xiii. 5, 11. ‘Upon this, they came together to build up the city, forasmuch as the wall towards the brook, on the east side, was fallen down.’ — *1 Macc.* xii. 37. It will be observed that this wall on the east is here called by implication a wall of the city, and not of the Temple proper, which was at the south-west corner of the Temple Platform.

² *1 Macc.* xii. 48. *Ant.* xiii. 6, 2.

³ *Ant.* xiii. 6, 7.

⁴ *Ant.* xiii. 6, 7. *1 Macc.* xiii. 10.

and hymns and songs.'¹ Thus, after a long struggle, the sting of the scorpion and the poison of the asp, which had so long infested the rock at the corner of the Temple plateau, disappeared for ever. The anniversary, from that time forward, was observed by the Jews as a day of solemn thanksgiving.²

So much suffering had been inflicted by the Acra on Jerusalem, that it was now resolved to raze the citadel, and even to cut away the very steep on which it stood. This was a work of time and labour, but the Jews wrought incessantly by day and night, and at the end of three years the mount of the Acra, except a ledge of rock left as a wall for the protection of the city, had been removed, and the debris thrown into the valley on the western side, called, from this gigantic work of Simon, the Asmonean Valley.³ The results of this national effort are still to be seen at the north-west corner of the Temple plateau, now the Haram, where, on the north, and partly on the west, the boundary of the enclosure is a wall of native rock; and, within, the bare rock is visible at the surface, reduced indeed to the general level, but still to the observant eye exhibiting the extent of the once famous Acra. Krafft imagined that he could trace the circular form of the keep,⁴ but it will be seen from the plan of the Haram esh Sherif, that the western wall runs from the north-west corner in a straight line southward for about 200 feet, and then bends east, and we should infer from this that the fortress was quadrangular.

The site of the Baris, or Antonia, had before been lower than the Acra, but now rose above it;⁵ and

¹ 1 Macc. xiii. 51.

² Ant. xiii. 6, 7. 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

³ Ant. xiii. 6, 7.

⁴ Krafft, 12.

⁵ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖχεν ἀπάντων τὸ ἱερόν, τῆς Ἀκρας καὶ τοῦ ὄρους

henceforth superseded the Acra as the keep or citadel of the Low Town. The Baris had originally been the vestry of the Temple, and was repaired by Nehemiah, under the name of 'the palace (Heb. *Birah* or *Baris*) which appertaineth to the house;'¹ and was afterwards fortified, as we have seen, by Judas Maccabæus, as a safeguard of the Temple against the Acra; and now Simon again added to the strength of the Baris, and selected it as his palace: 'Moreover the hill of the Temple that was by the tower² (the Acra) he made stronger than it was, and there he dwelt himself with his company.'

Simon, after a reign of eight years, was slain by treachery, and was succeeded by his son Hyrcanus, who also made the Baris his palace.³ It is remarkable that when Hyrcanus was besieged by Antiochus Sidetes, the inhabitants were distressed for water, the only instance, it is believed, in which the city suffered in that way, as, though situate on a thirsty and arid mountain, it derived an abundant supply of water from its numerous cisterns and subterranean conduits.⁴ Peace was at length concluded between Hyrcanus and Antiochus, upon the terms that Hyrcanus should deliver hostages and raze the fortifications.⁵

ἐφ' ᾧ ἦν ἀνηρημένων. — *Ant.* xiii. 6, 7. It will be observed that here, as in other places, Josephus in the Temple includes the Temple Mount.

¹ Neh. ii. 8.

² παρὰ τὴν Ἀκραν. — 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

³ τῶν ἱερέων τὸς Ὑρκανὸς . . . ὁ πρῶτος, ἐπεὶ πλησίον τῷ ἱερῷ Βάριν κατασκευασάμενος ἐν ταύτῃ τὰ πολλὰ τὴν διαίταν εἶχεν. — *Ant.* xviii. 4, 3.

⁴ *Ant.* xiii. 8, 2.

⁵ καθεῖλε δὲ καὶ τὴν στεφάνην τῆς πόλεως. — *Ant.* xiii. 8, 3. Unless it can mean that Antiochus broke up the circumvallation with which he had surrounded the city, for ἀπετείχισε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας (*Ant.* xiii. 8, 2).

Hyrcanus was succeeded by Aristobulus ; and at the beginning of his reign occurred a romantic incident. He was much attached to his brother Antigonos, but 'whispering tongues can poison truth,' and calumny said that Antigonos was aiming at the throne. Aristobulus was living in the Baris,¹ and hearing that Antigonos had gone up to the Temple in armour, sent for him into his presence, but to come *unarmed* ; and at the same time gave orders to his guard that if Antigonos came unarmed he should pass free, but if in arms he should be put to death. The enemies of Antigonos reversed the message ; and he was desired to hasten, *armed as he was*, into the palace. Antigonos was passing in armour from the Temple to the Baris by the underground passage which connected them,² when the guard who had been posted there, seeing him armed, set upon him and assassinated him. The incident is mentioned as showing that the subterranean communication between Antonia and the Temple, referred to in the time of Herod, had existed long before, and was therefore only repaired and improved by Herod.³

After Aristobulus followed Alexander Jannæus ; and then reigned his wife Alexandra as queen, her son, Hyrcanus II., being nominally high priest. On her death a struggle ensued between the two sons of Alexander, Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus. The former

¹ κατέκειτο δὲ ἐν τῇ Βάρει, μετονομασθείση δὲ Ἀντωνία.—*Ant.* xiii. 11, 2.

² ἔν τινι τῶν ὑπογαίων ἀφώτιστῳ . . . κατὰ τὸν Στράτωνος καλούμενον πύργον οὗ συνέβαιεν ἀφώτιστον εἶναι τὴν παράδον.—*Ant.* xiii. 11, 2.

³ Josephus says that the passage *κατεσκευάσθη τῷ βασιλεῖ* (*Ant.* xv. 11, 7), and the reader of Josephus must have observed that *κατασκευάζεσθαι*, with him, is to set in order or repair, and not to originate.

was at Jerusalem when the demise of Alexander occurred, and Aristobulus at the head of a considerable army, was advancing from the north. The party of Hyrcanus had imprisoned the wife and family of Aristobulus during his absence in the Baris, which commanded the Temple,¹ and on the approach of Aristobulus, Hyrcanus sought to maintain himself in the Baris.² However, the partisans of the lethargic Hyrcanus on the one side, and of the active-minded Aristobulus on the other, agreed upon a peace; and Aristobulus marched in state to the palace, while Hyrcanus retired to the private residence of Aristobulus.³

Afterwards Hyrcanus repented of these humiliating terms, and advanced under the guidance of Antipater, the father of Herod, at the head of an Arabian force; and, having the people of Jerusalem on his side, took possession of the city, and besieged Aristobulus in the Temple,⁴ but the siege was raised by Scaurus, at the command of Pompey, in B.C. 63.

Pompey afterwards, finding Hyrcanus a more pliant instrument, and better adapted to his purposes than the spirited Aristobulus, put the latter in bonds and marched against Jerusalem. The city is here, as elsewhere, described as weak only on the north (being surrounded on the other sides by broad and deep ravines); and the Temple is represented as strongly

¹ εἰς τὸ ἱπὲρ τοῦ ἱεροῦ φρούριον. — *Ant.* xiii. 16, 5.

² φεύγει πρὸς τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν ἔνθα συνέβαινε κατεῖρχθαι τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς. — *Ant.* xiv. 1, 2.

³ ἀνεχώρησεν ὁ μὲν [Aristobulus] εἰς τὰ βασιλεια, Ὑρκανὸς δὲ ὡς ἰδιώτης εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀριστοβούλου. — *Ant.* xiv. 1, 2.

⁴ προσβαλὼν τῷ ἱερῷ τὸν Ἀριστόβουλον ἐπολιόρκει. — *Ant.* xiv. 2, 1.

fortified by a stone ambit of its own,¹ not only on the north, east, and south, but also on the west toward the city.² On Pompey's arrival under the walls, the population was divided, the partisans of Hyrcanus urging an immediate surrender, and those of Aristobulus a defence to the last extremity. The faction of Hyrcanus prevailed, and the followers of Aristobulus threw themselves into the Temple, and broke away the bridge which led to it from the city.³ By the Temple must be meant, not the Temple itself, but the plateau on which it stood, for the Temple had no towers or fosse; but the wall of the plateau on the north had great and strong towers, and was protected by a deep ditch.⁴ Hyrcanus and his party delivered up the city and the palace to Pompey;⁵ from which it is evident that the palace occupied by the Asmonean princes at this time

¹ ἐντὸς ἀπολαμβάνουσα τὸ ἱερὸν λιθίνῃ περιβύλῃ καρτερῶς πάνυ τετειχισμένον. — *Ant.* xiv. 4, 1.

² τότε ἱερὸν ἐντὸς τῆς φάραγγος ὀχυρώτατα τετειχισμένον, ὥστε τοῦ ἄστεος ἀλισκομένου δευτέραν εἶναι καταφυγὴν τοῦτο τοῖς πολεμίοις. — *Bell.* i. 7, 1.

³ τὸ ἱερὸν καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ τὴν . . . γέφυραν . . . ἔκοψαν. — *Ant.* xiv. 4, 2. *Bell.* i. 7, 2. It is not necessary to suppose that the whole bridge, which was very massive, was destroyed but only that the upper part, contiguous to the Temple, was broken away.

⁴ ἀνεστήκεσαν δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα μεγάλοι πύργοι, καὶ τάφρος δὲ ὀρώρυκτο. — *Ant.* xiv. 4, 2. ἀντείχον δ' ἐπὶ πλείστον οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος πύργοι μεγέθει τε καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες. — *Bell.* i. 7, 3. Strabo also refers to the great fosse on the north, though he errs in the exact dimensions: τάφρον λατομητὴν ἔχων, βάθος μὲν ἐξήκοντα ποδῶν πλάτος δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ λίθου λατομηθέντος ἐπεπύργωτο τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἱεροῦ. — *Strabo*, xvi. 2. The real measurements of the fosse at present are about 131 feet in width, and 75 feet in depth. As Strabo uses the expression ἐπεπύργωτο, and the cloisters of the Temple had no towers, he can only allude to the outer wall round the Temple.

⁵ τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰ βασίλεια. — *Ant.* xiv. 4, 2.

was not, as formerly, in the Baris on the Temple plateau, but in the city itself. Indeed we know that it stood in the High Town, and overlooked the Xyst, and was occupied, when the last war with the Romans broke out, by Agrippa and his sister Bernice.¹ Pompey made his advances against the Temple plateau from the north, and after much trouble filled up the fosse, and beat down the towers, and so became master of the Temple.²

Hyrcanus was now reestablished in the high-priesthood by Pompey; but many years after, viz. B.C. 40, he was again expelled by the Parthians, who made Antigonus king. However, the Romans, in opposition, appointed Herod king, and in B.C. 37 Herod commenced the siege of Jerusalem. It is expressly said, on this occasion, that Herod took up his position before the Temple on the north³ as Pompey had done before,⁴ and the part that was *first* taken was the Temple.⁵

¹ Ant. xx. 8, 11.

² Ant. xiv. 4, 3. Bell. i. 7, 3. It is said that Pompey encamped 'within,' on the north side of the Temple: Πομπηϊός δὲ ἰσωθεν στρατοπεδεύεται κατὰ τὸ βόρειον τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέρος (Ant. xiv. 4, 2); but ἰσωθεν does not mean within the city, for the north of the Temple was not covered by the city wall, but within the circumvallation, which Josephus had just before stated to have been thrown up by Pompey, to prevent any escape of the besieged. It is particularly mentioned that Herod encamped where Pompey had done before (Ant. xiv. 15, 14), and this was certainly without the city; and Herod had to master two walls, viz. that of the plateau and that of the Temple itself, before he was in possession of the Temple (Ant. xiv. 16, 2).

³ καταστρατοπεδεύονται τοῦ βορείου τείχους πλησίον.—Bell. i. 17, 9.

⁴ πλησίον ἐλθὼν τοῦ τείχους κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταστρατοπεδεύεται, προσβαλεῖν διεγνωκώς ὡς καὶ πρότερον πότε Πομπηϊός. — Ant. xiv. 15, 14.

⁵ πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἡλίσκετο. — Bell. i. 18, 2.

Herod, to do this, captured successively two walls, the first in forty days, and the second in fifteen, when some of the cloisters round the Temple were burnt.¹ These two walls, therefore, could be none other than, first, the wall of the Temple Platform, and then the wall of the Outer Temple containing the cloisters. The possession of the Platform gave Herod the command of the Low Town, and accordingly the partisans of Antigonus now fled into the Inner Temple and the Upper City.² But both were afterwards taken by assault or surrendered. Antigonus himself had retired into the Baris, called afterwards Antonia; and though the Platform of the Temple was occupied by Herod's forces, Antigonus still maintained himself in the midst of them. But when all the rest of the city was taken, he felt his case to be desperate, and surrendered at discretion.³ He was shortly afterwards put to death by Mark Antony, at the instance of Herod, and so ceased the dynasty of the Asmoneans or Maccabees.

¹ ἤρθε γὰρ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τεῖχος ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ τινες τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνεπρήσθησαν στοῶν. — *Ant.* xiv. 16, 2. The cloisters of the Inner Temple could not be meant, as they still held out.

² ἤρημένου δὲ τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ καὶ τῆς κάτω πόλεως, εἰς τὸ ἔσωθεν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι συνέφυγον. — *Ant.* xiv. 16, 2.

³ κάτεισι μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Βάρεως. — *Ant.* xiv. 16, 2. *Bell.* i. 18, 2.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE CITY AND TEMPLE IN THE TIME OF THE HERODS.

WE now take Josephus for our guide, and shall follow his description of—1. The City generally; 2. The Walls; 3. The Temple; 4. Fort Antonia; 5. The Acropolis, or Temple Platform.

We may remark *in limine* that Josephus had intended to write a full and particular description of Jerusalem¹ (a design which he never accomplished), and that all he has left us is a mere sketch or outline, introduced for the purpose of better illustrating the history of the last great war.

1. OF THE CITY.

‘The city,’ says Josephus, ‘protected by three walls where not encompassed by inaccessible ravines (for in that part was only one wall), was seated face to face upon *two hills*,² divided by an intervening valley [the Tyropœon] at which the houses ended over against each other. But of these hills the one which supported the Upper Town was much the higher and more regular in its length, and by reason of its strength was called by David (he was the father of Solomon who

¹ Bell. v. 5, 8.

² So Tacitus: ‘Nam duos colles immensum editos claudebant muri per artem obliqui aut introrsus sinuati.’ — *Tac. Hist.* v. 11.

first built the Temple) the Castle, but by us the Upper Market. But the other hill called Acra, and which supported the Low Town, was gibbous. And over against this [the lower hill]¹ was a *third hill*, both lower by nature than the Acra [the Macedonian keep at the north-west corner of the Temple Platform]² and separated formerly [from the *city* on the west] by *another* broad valley [the Asmonean]. But in after times, under the dynasty of the Asmoneans, they both filled up the valley [the Asmonean] from a desire to join *the city to the Temple*,³ and, cutting down the height of the Acra [the Macedonian keep], made it lower, in order that the Temple might overlook that also. But the *valley called the Tyropæon*, which, as we have said, *divides the hill of the Upper Town and the Lower hill*, reaches as far as Siloam; for so we called the fountain that was both sweet and plentiful. But, from without, the two hills of the city were surrounded by deep ravines, and there was no approach by reason of the ravines on either side.⁴ And a little further on the historian adds, that by the wall of Agrippa a *fourth* hill called Bezetha was enclosed and became part of the city.⁵

¹ The passage may perhaps be punctuated thus: 'The Low Town was like a crescent, and was over against this [the upper hill]. There was a third hill,' &c.

² No end of confusion has arisen from Josephus's habit of using the same word in the very same paragraph in totally different senses. Thus here we have Acra referred to first as a quarter of the city, and then as the Macedonian citadel.

³ So in another place: ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἔχωσαν τὰς φάραγγας, ἀνισοῦν βουλόμενοι τοὺς στενωποὺς τοῦ ἁστεως. — *Bell.* v. 5, 1.

⁴ *Bell.* v. 4, 1.

⁵ τέταρτον λόφον, ὃς καλεῖται Βεζεθὰ, κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

The above description is found substantially to accord with the present features of Jerusalem. The two hills, with the valley between them called the Tyropæon and running down to Siloam, are easily distinguishable. The upper hill is that on the west now called Sion. The lower hill is the eastern ridge which extends to Siloam, and was defended on the north by the Macedonian keep called Acra, whence the name of the ridge itself and of the town upon it. The upper hill was, according to Josephus, 'the more regular in its length,' i. e. from north to south, and accordingly Barclay speaks of it as 'approximating to the shape of a regular parallelogram.'¹

The *lower hill* is said to have been gibbous, or in the form of a crescent,² and it will be seen from the plan that the eastern hill tapers down towards the south, where it ends at Siloam in a point inclining to the west. It is not necessary to understand Josephus, to mean by the word ἀμφικυρτός that the Low Town was a crescent with *two* horns; but even in that sense the description would not be inaccurate, for the tract enclosed by the second wall, as we shall see presently, was regarded as part of the Low Town, and on that assumption the Low Town (exclusive of the New Town, but inclusive of the Temple) was broadest at the north-east, and became gradually contracted, not only towards the south upon Ophel, but also towards the west on the north of the High Town.

The *third* hill, which was subordinate to, and comprised under, the *second* hill, and which is said to have been originally separate from the city, but afterwards incorporated with it by filling up the intervening

¹ Barclay, 417.

² ἀμφικυρτός. — *Bell.* v. 4, 1.

valley, was Moriah, the mount on which the Temple was erected. This is evident from the statement that the '*third hill*' was naturally lower than the Acra, but that, by reducing the height of the Acra, 'the *Temple* was made to overlook the Acra,' so that the third hill and the Temple are spoken of as synonymous. In strictness, however, the third hill was the Temple *mount*, the site of the Baris or Antonia, just north of the Temple; but as the Baris or Antonia was at the same time the vestry and the fortress of the Temple, and was actually united to it by Herod, Josephus here, as elsewhere, includes the Temple *mount* under the name of the *Temple*.

It is not uncommonly supposed that the Temple Mount was once divided from the Acra, which was at the north-west corner of the Temple Platform, by a ravine running between them *from east to west*, and that this was the ravine filled up by the Asmoneans; but clearly this cannot be, for Josephus tells us that the ravine was filled up from a desire to join the Temple, not to the Acra, which was on the north, but to the city, which was on the west.¹ The idea of a ravine running across the Temple Platform from east to west is purely chimerical.

The *fourth* hill, or Bezetha, was situate to the north of the Temple Platform, and is identical with that on which stands the mosque Mulawiyeh. The eastern ridge there attains a considerable height, equal or nearly so to that of the western.² The present north wall of the city runs along the brow of it, and beneath it lies the great subterranean quarry called the Cotton Grotto. As Bezetha and Antonia were both on the

¹ Bell. v. 4, 1; v. 5, 1.

² Rob. i. 266.

same ridge, Bezetha was said to be over against Antonia,¹ which will serve to explain in what sense the Temple Mount is spoken of as over against Acra ; ² that is, the Temple Mount and the Macedonian Acra were both on the same ridge, the one overlooking the other.

As to the *two valleys* mentioned by Josephus, one, the Tyropœon, which separated the High and Low Towns, commences at what is now called the Jaffa Gate, and, running thence eastward to the Haram, turns there towards the south to Siloam, so that the western hill, or the Upper Town, was literally, as Josephus elsewhere describes it, 'surrounded on all sides by ravines,'³ viz. by the Tyropœon on the north and east, and by the Valley of Hinnom on the south and west. But the Tyropœon on the north was probably never very deep, or Josephus, alluding to this part, would not have said that the city had three walls where it was *not* girt in by inaccessible ravines.⁴ But, on the other hand, the fall of the ground must have been considerable, for the northern limb of the first wall is said to have been erected on a high brow ; ⁵ and again, when Titus had mastered successively the third and second walls, he could not take the Upper Town without casting up mounds against it, by reason of the precipices.⁶

The part of the valley from the Jaffa Gate to the Haram can at the present day be traced only by the rise of ground, which is still very perceptible on the right hand as you walk down the street from the gate

¹ κείμενος μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς Ἀντωνίας. — Bell. v. 4, 2.

² ἄτερος δὲ ὁ καλούμενος Ἀκρα. . . . Τούτου δὲ ἀντικρὺ τρίτος ἦν λόφος, etc. — Bell. v. 4, 1.

³ περικρημνον. — Bell. viii. 8, 1.

⁴ Bell. v. 4, 1.

⁵ ἐφ' ὑψηλῇ λόφῳ. — Bell. v. 4, 4.

⁶ Bell. vi. 8, 1.

to the Haram.¹ The quantity of *débris* collected at the foot of the High Town may be understood from the simple fact, that, in digging for a foundation near the Jaffa Gate, a chapel (itself comparatively modern) was discovered at the depth of 25 feet from the present surface.² It was at this point that the Romans, under Titus, cast up two mounds against the High Town,³ and this alone would account in great measure for the disappearance of the valley.

The 'other valley' spoken of by Josephus as separating the *Temple* from the *city*, and therefore on the west of the Temple, is now known as the Asmonean Valley, and descends obliquely from the Damascus Gate to the Haram, where it falls into the Tyropœon. The Asmoneans are said to have cast the spoil from the demolition of the Macedonian Acra into this valley to fill it up; but the hollow, though the depth of it by this means was much reduced, was not entirely effaced, for even in the time of Josephus the most northern of the four western gates of the Temple led down to the valley by steps, and then up again to the city.⁴ The opinion advanced by some, that this valley to the west of the Temple was the Tyropœon, is at once displaced by the fact that the historian expressly speaks of the Asmonean Valley as the 'other valley,' and therefore distinct from the Tyropœon, which he had before described as separating the High and Low Towns, and running down to Siloam.⁵

¹ Robins. B. R. i. 264; iii. 208. The author of Murray's Handbook for Syria, who had twice visited Jerusalem, remarks: 'From the top of the Pasha's house, or some commanding spot near the north-west angle of the Haram, we distinctly observe a considerable depression, commencing at the Jaffa gate, and running down eastward in the line of the street of David.'—p. 94.

² Robins. B. R. iii. 184, 208.

³ Bell. v. 9, 2.

⁴ Ant. xv. 11, 5.

⁵ See ante, p. 337.

The *High Town*, which was seated upon the upper hill, enclosed by the Tyropœon Valley on the north and east, and by the Valley of Hinnom on the west and south, and now called Sion, was exclusively confined to that hill, and comprehended no part of the quarter enclosed by the second or third wall. Thus, when Titus first reconnoitred the city, he conceived the design of opening the attack upon the third or outer wall, at the monument of the high priest John, because, as the *first* wall lay exposed on the north in the part between the third wall which started from Hippicus, and the second wall which started from Gennath, he might thus, without taking the second wall, be able to assault the 'High Town ;'¹ so that the Upper Town was regarded as distinct from the quarters enclosed either by the third or second wall.

Again, when Titus had taken successively the third and second walls, he then proceeded against the 'High Town,' so that the High Town was not considered as comprised within either the third or second wall.²

Again, of the four western gates of the Temple, one, the most southerly, led to the 'High Town,' and another, the most northerly, led to the 'other city,' or Low Town.³ The northern limit of the High Town ran therefore, at least towards the east, in a line between the northern and southern gates on the west of the Temple, i. e. the High Town did not extend beyond the hill now called Sion.

The *Low Town* lay principally, but not exclusively, on the eastern hill, called Moriah, at the north, and Ophel on the south. That the main part of it was on the lower or eastern hill is evident from Josephus's description of

¹ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν. — *Bell.* v. 6, 2.

² *Bell.* vi. 8, 1.

³ *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

the two hills before given ; and there are other passages to the same effect.

Thus the Acra, or Macedonian keep, which certainly stood on the eastern hill, at the north-west corner of the Temple enclosure, now the Haram, is said to have been built in the Low Town ;¹ and, when the Acra was razed, Antonia, which stood next it on the south, became the garrison of the *Low Town*, as Herod's Palace was of the High Town.²

Again, when Titus had taken the second wall, he encouraged his soldiers against Antonia, by saying that the possession of Antonia would make them masters of *the city*,³ that is, of the Low Town ; for at that time the tract on the west of the Temple was already in the hands of Titus, and was therefore out of the question ; and the High Town could not be meant, as the possession of Antonia would have no effect upon it.

Again, when Antonia and the Temple had fallen into the hands of the Romans, Titus (on the Jews in the High Town refusing to surrender) burnt the buildings about the Temple, as the Archive (the old Gate of Benjamin in the middle of the north wall of the Temple Platform), the Acra or fortress substituted for the old Acra at the north-west corner of the Platform, the Council-house on the west of the Platform, and Ophla on the south of the Platform ; and from the latter the fire spread down to the Palace of Helena, ' in the middle of Acra,' where

¹ ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει. — *Ant.* xii. 5, 4.

² φρούριον γὰρ ἐπέκειτο τῇ πόλει μὲν [the Low Town] τὸ ἱερὸν, τῇ ἱερῷ δὲ ἡ Ἀντωνία. Κατὰ δὲ ταύτην οἱ τῶν τριῶν φύλακες ἦσαν, καὶ τῆς ἀνω πόλεως ἴδιον φρούριον ἦν τὰ Ἡρώδου βασιλεια. — *Bell.* v. 5, 8.

³ ἀναβάντες γοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἔχομεν τὴν πόλιν. — *Bell.* vi. 1, 5.

plainly by *Acra* is meant the city on the eastern hill, or Ophel, to the south of the Temple.¹ The Jews then drove the Romans out of the Palace of Helena (which could not have been, had it lain within the second wall, which had been long in the hands of the Romans),² and the next day Titus retook the Palace, and forced the Jews wholly from the *Low Town*, and burnt it down to *Siloam*.³—an indisputable proof that one part of the Low Town, and which we may call the Outer Low Town, was on Ophel, and reached down to Siloam.

This site of the Palace of Helena, in the middle of the eastern hill, throws light incidentally on another passage relating to the Low Town, where it is said that, in the siege by Titus, John held the Temple and the immediate precincts, and that Simon was in possession of the High Town, and the fountain [Siloam] and *Acra* which is the *Low Town* (τῆ κάτω πόλις), viz. (καὶ) the parts as far as the *Palace of Helena* (that is, as far as the middle of the eastern hill), while the interval between the Palace and the Temple was ravaged by both factions.⁴ This Queen Helena was the mother of Monobazus, and the two palaces of Helena and Monobazus were, as we should expect, very near to each other; for *Helena's* Palace was in the middle of Ophel, and Josephus describes the first wall as running along the east of Ophel, from Siloam down to the Palace of *Monobazus*.⁵

However, the Low Town was not confined to the eastern hill, or Ophel, but also comprised, on the west

¹ Bell. vi. 7, 1.

² Bell. v. 6, 3.

³ τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς ληστὰς ἐκ τῆς κάτω πόλεως τὰ μέχρι τοῦ Σιλωὰμ πάντα ἐνέτροσαν. — Bell. vi. 7, 2.

⁴ Bell. v. 6, 1.

⁵ τοῦτε ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος ὅσον ἀπὸ τῆς Σιλωὰς ἀνακάμπτον εἰς ἀνατολήν, ὃ μέχρι τοῦ Μοιουβάζου κατέβαιεν αὐτῆς. — Bell. v. 6, 1.

of the Temple, the tract enclosed by the second wall. This, we think, will appear from several considerations.

In the first place, the tract within the second wall must, as being no part of Bezetha, the New Town, have belonged either to the High Town or Low Town. Originally it was separated from each by a ravine, viz. from the High Town by the Tyropœon, and from the Low Town by the Asmonean Valley; but when the latter was filled up by the Asmoneans, and the quarter within the second wall was united to the Temple, it came to be regarded as part of the Low Town. Thus, the *High Town* is described by Josephus as surrounded *on all sides* by ravines,¹ which would be contrary to the fact if the High Town comprised the quarter enclosed by the second wall, which had no ravine on the north or west. On the other hand, the *Low Town* is said to have been originally intersected by a ravine, which was afterwards filled up by the Asmoneans; and, as the ravine in question must have been that on the west of the Temple, it follows that the tract opposite to the Temple, that is, the part circumscribed by the second wall, was regarded as parcel of the Low Town.²

So when John, in the war against Simon, erected four towers at the four corners of the Temple, that at the north-west corner, which faced the quarter enclosed by the second wall, is described as being over against the *Low Town*.³ And, again, Josephus writes that, of the four gates on the western side of the Temple, one led to the 'High Town,' the two next to the 'Suburb' between the Temple and the High Town, and the most northern to the 'other city,'⁴ that is, the *Low Town*.

¹ Bell. vi. 8, 1.

² Bell. v. 4, 1.

³ ἀντικρὺ τῆς κάτω πόλεως. — Bell. iv. 9, 12. And see v. 1. 3.

⁴ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. — Ant. xv. 11, 5.

In fact, this accretion to the city on the west of the Temple, being commanded in a military point of view, not by Herod's Palace in the High Town, from which it was divided by a ravine, but by the Baris or Antonia on the Temple Mount,¹ was on that account reckoned not into the High Town but into the Low Town. True, the *western portion* of the swell of ground at the north of the High Town may be more elevated, perhaps, than the High Town, but the *eastern portion* of the swell, which was the part enclosed by the second wall, was much lower than the High Town. For want of a better name, we should designate the area within the second wall as the Inner Low Town, in contradistinction to the Outer Low Town upon the ridge of the eastern hill.

The Low Town or Acra thus consisted of three distinct parts. 1. The Temple Platform, the Middle Low Town, or Middle Acra, on Mount Moriah: 2. The Outer Low Town, or Outer Acra, on Ophel: and, 3. The Inner Low Town, or Inner Acra, to the west of the Temple Platform.

There was afterwards added, by the erection of the wall of Agrippa in A.D. 43, a *third* quarter of the city, called Bezetha or New Town. This occupied all the northern portion of the city, from Hippicus on the west to the north-eastern end of the Temple Platform on the east, but exclusive of the tract comprised within the second wall. As Bezetha was first enclosed by the third or Agrippa's wall, the course of which is a problem of difficulty, we shall reserve the limits of the New Town for future discussion.

Josephus, with reference to the city generally, ob-

¹ Bell. v. 5, 8.

serves that, 'from *without*, the two hills of the city were surrounded by deep ravines, and there was no approach by reason of the ravines on either side.'¹ Some understand the historian by this to say that the *whole* city was encircled by ravines, and therefore impugn his accuracy in this respect; but he could not have meant this, as it would be inconsistent with his other statement that Jerusalem lay exposed on the north.² The drift of the passage appears to be this. He had before stated that where the city was not girt in by inaccessible ravines, it was defended by as many as three walls. 'But,' he continues, 'from without,' i.e. beyond the three walls, 'there are inaccessible ravines.' And this is exactly the case; for the two hills are protected on the west and south by the Valley of Hinnom, and on the east by the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and from these natural defences no attack was ever made by a besieging enemy upon Jerusalem on the east,³ west, or south sides of the High Town, but always on the north.

II. OF THE WALLS.

Even stone walls cannot fail to awaken some degree of interest, when it is remembered that upon the result of the inquiry depends the question, Where was Mount Calvary? and where the Holy Sepulchre?

¹ ἔξωθεν δὲ οἱ τῆς πόλεως δύο λόφοι βαθύταις φάραξι περιείχοντο, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἑκατέρωθεν κρημνοὺς προσιτὸν οὐδαμύθεν ἦν. — *Bell.* v. 4, 1.

² περιεχομένη βαθύα φάραγι κατὰ πᾶν τὸ νότιον κλίμα. — *Απ.* xv. 11, 5. οὔτε γὰρ κατὰ τὰς φάραγγας ἦν που προσιτὸν, καὶ κατὰ θάτερα τὸ πρῶτον τεῖχος ἐφαίνετο τῶν ὀργάνων στερεώτερον. — *Bell.* v. 6, 2.

³ We should except, perhaps, the mounds thrown up by Titus against the palace on the west. *Bell.* vi. 8, 1 and 4.

In the time of Nehemiah, the two companies of thanksgiving, in their perambulation of the walls, both started in opposite directions from the Valley or Jaffa Gate, as a salient point, and Josephus commences his description from the same quarter, viz. from the tower of Hippicus.¹ This was one of the three famous towers erected by Herod in the wall at the north of his palace, which stood at the north-west corner of the High Town.² Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne were erected on an eminence represented by Josephus to be 45 feet high.³ Hippicus was a square of $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet each way, and solid to the height of 45 feet. Phasaelus was a square of

¹ Bell. v. 4, 2.

² Mr. Thrupp thinks that the palace could hardly have stood, as commonly assumed, 'in the north-western corner of the upper city;' for that (1) in the rebellion which led to the siege by Titus, 'we are told that the fire began at Antonia, passed onward to the palace, and consumed the roofs of the three towers (Bell. v. 4, 4), which would seem to imply that it reached the palace before the towers; and (2) Josephus speaks of one of the four western gates of the Temple as leading by the bridge or causeway into the palace, where it can only be the palace of Herod that is meant.' — *Anc. Jerus.* 191.

As to the first argument, Mr. Thrupp understands Josephus to speak literally of the progress of some particular fire, whereas the historian is plainly referring only in general terms to the calamitous events which he had previously recorded, viz. that Antonia was first burnt (Bell. ii. 17, 7), and that subsequently the three famous towers of the palace shared the same fate (Bell. ii. 17, 8). Josephus cannot mean that the towers of the palace caught fire from Antonia; for the two edifices were separated by a valley and very distant from each other, and the two fires occurred at different times.

As to the second argument, Mr. Thrupp assumes that the bridge of the Temple across the Tyropæon led to the Palace of Herod, whereas the palace in question was not that of Herod, but the Asmonean Palace, occupied by King Agrippa, which stood on the brow of the hill now called Sion, and overlooked the Xyst and the bridge which led to it. Bell. ii. 16, 3; vi. 6, 2. Ant. xx. 8, 11.

³ εἰς τριάκοντα πῆχεις. — Bell. v. 4, 4.

60 feet each way, and was solid to an equal height.¹ Mariamne was 30 feet square, and also solid to an equal height.² The rock which sustained these costly and imposing structures still remains, and is 42 feet high,³ thus wanting only 3 feet of the elevation given to it by Josephus. The *base* only of Hippicus survives, being the foundation of the north-west tower of the present citadel, and is marked A on the accompanying map. It measures 45 feet square, so that Josephus's 37½ feet, if exact, must have been applied to the tower erected upon this broader base. Phasaelus still exists, and is marked B on the accompanying map.⁴ It is 56 feet 4 inches by 70 feet 3 inches,⁵ and thus corresponds very fairly to Josephus's measurement of 60 feet square. It is solid to the height of 40 feet, with much rubbish at the foot, so that several feet more in depth must be allowed. The stones are bevelled⁶ like those round the Haram, and have evidently never been disturbed. This is the one conspicuous object on the right hand as the

¹ τὸ μὲν πλάτος καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἴσον εἶχε τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν ἕκαστον, ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ἦν τὸ ναστὸν αὐτοῦ ὕψος. — *Bell.* v. 4, 3.

² *Bell.* v. 4, 3.

³ See Williams' Holy City.

⁴ See a view of it from the north in Traill's Josephus, ii. 126; Bartlett's Jerus. 85: and from the west in Traill's Josephus, ii. 215; Bartlett's Jerusalem Revisit. 19; Barclay, 43.

⁵ Robins. B. R. i. 308.

⁶ It has been argued that the bevelling proves this tower to be not one of the three described by Josephus, as he speaks of them as having each the appearance of one vast rock cut artificially into form, and therefore, it is said, presenting an even surface. But the words of Josephus may mean equally well 'cut artificially into panelling': *συνήνωντο δ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ὡς δοκεῖν ἕκαστον πύργον μίαν εἶναι πέτραν ἀναπεφυκυῖαν, ἔπειτα δὲ περιεξίσθαι χερσὶ τεχνιτῶν εἰς σχῆμα καὶ γωνίας· οὕτως οὐδαμῶθεν ἡ συνάφεια τῆς ἀρμονίας διεφαίνετο.* — *Bell.* v. 4. 4.

traveller enters the Jaffa Gate, and is miscalled Hippicus, being really Phasaelus. The site of Mariamne is no longer traceable, but may be placed at the point c on the accompanying map. The three towers, though described generally as in the *north* wall of the High Town, were probably not precisely in a line from east to west;¹ for it is said that the north wall ran along the crest of the High Town, but that the three towers stood upon an isolated eminence which rose above the general elevation of this part of the hill.² The palace, defended on the north by these three towers, reached far back on the south, and with its walks and plantations occupied not only the present castle of David, but what is now the garden of the Armenian convent, an area 650 yards by 250 yards.³ The west wall of the palace, forming part of the city wall, was used for barracks, and was on this account left standing by Titus as a shelter to his own soldiery who remained in garrison.⁴

From Hippicus the western limb of the first wall ran southward along the brink of the Valley of Hinnom, by Bethso (the Hebrew for dung-place),⁵ to the Gate of the Essenes, probably the dung-gate of Nehemiah.⁶ This course of the wall may be still traced along the western

¹ The north wall itself was perhaps not straight, as the brow of Sion in this part, according to the maps, makes a bend southward.

² αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν ἐφ' ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ δεδόμενα, καὶ τοῦ λόφου καθάπερ κορυφή τις ὑψηλοτέρα προανείχεν εἰς τριάκοντα πήχεις, ὑπὲρ ἣν οἱ πύργοι κείμενοι πολὺ δὴ τι τοῦ μετώρου προσελάμβανον. — *Bell.* v. 4, 4.

³ Handbook for Syria, p. 94.

⁴ τεῖχος δὲ ὅσον ἦν ἐξ ἐσπέρας τὴν πόλιν περιέχον. — *Bell.* vii. 1. 1.

⁵ בֵּית־סוֹ.

⁶ πρὸς δύοσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν ἀρχόμενον χωρίου, διὰ δὲ τοῦ Βηθσω καλουμένου, κατατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑσσηνῶν πύλην. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2. It will be observed that here, as elsewhere, πρὸς with reference to any quarter means facing it.

side of Sion, in the line of the present wall, by the escarpment of the rock on the western side of the garden of the Armenian convent. The wall is on the interior 18 feet high, but on the exterior $33\frac{1}{2}$ feet, showing a difference of $15\frac{1}{2}$; ¹ to this extent, therefore, the rock has been cut down and faced with masonry. Along the western brow of Sion, outside the present city on the south, is a narrow higher ridge, supposed to mark the line of the old wall; ² and quite at the south-west corner of Sion an escarpment of the rock, as if for the foundation of the wall, has been noticed. ³

From the Dung Gate the wall 'facing the south made a turn over or above Siloam,' ⁴ which must have been by a bend for a little distance up the Tyropæon Valley, along the edge of the High Town, and then back again along the edge of the Low Town, or Ophel.

Its course from Bethso eastward cannot be traced by any remains, except that some bevelled stones, apparently belonging to this wall in its course northward round the hill now called Sion, have been found in a direction from south-east to north-west, near the first tower westward from the present Dung Gate; ⁵ and except that an escarpment of the rock, as if for a wall, has been observed by Robinson both on the west and east sides of the Tyropæon. ⁶ Some will have it

¹ Tobl. Top. i. 62.

² Robins. B. R. i. 310.

³ Robins. B. R. i. 311. Tobl. Dritte Wand, 837.

⁴ ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωάμ. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2. ὑπὲρ with an accusative implies, according to Thrupp, p. 139, motion past or beyond a place. But it may also signify 'over' or 'above.' *As*: ὑπὲρ κορυφῆν. — *Bell.* iv. 3, 10. ταύτῃ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ξυστὸν ἦσαν πύλαι. — *Ib.* vi. 6, 2; vi. 3, 2. ὑπὲρ ἣν [κορυφῆν] οἱ πύργοι κείμενοι. — *Ib.* v. 4, 4. ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν ἄστρον ἔστη. — *Ib.* vi. 5, 3. ὑπὲρ τὰς ἱερὰς πύλας ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγίων μετώπων τίθενται τὰ θύλα. — *Ib.* v. 1, 2, &c.

⁵ Tobl. Top. i. 60.

⁶ Robins. B. R. iii. 189.

that the wall crossed the mouth of the Tyropoeon at Siloam without any curve: but the testimony of Josephus is express that the wall made a bend here, and no vestige of a wall across the mouth of the valley has ever been discovered though often searched for.

The wall from Siloam, with its face to the east, stretched away northward to Solomon's Pool, and, holding on as far as the place called Ophla, joined the eastern portion of the Temple.¹

By Solomon's Pool, which the wall passed before it reached the Temple, the historian probably means the large pool which once stood at the south-east of the Temple, and of which the ruins are noticed by Tobler.² The Bordeaux Pilgrim, in A.D. 333, mentions two great pools at the side of the Temple, one on the right and the other on the left, and calls them Solomon's Pools.³ As the one on the right was no doubt Bethesda on the north, the other, on the left, would lie on the south, and would be the pool alluded to by Josephus.

As the wall at Ophla joined, not the *southern*, but the *eastern* cloister of the Temple, and the Temple was a square of 600 feet, situate at the south-west corner of the Haram, the point of contact of the city wall and the Temple wall at the eastern cloister would be 600 feet from the west end of the southern wall of the Haram. Ophla, which was at the south of the Temple, at the eastern end, appears to have been a quarter set apart for the pastophoria or chambers of the priests,⁴

¹ ἔπειτα πρὸς νότον ὑπὲρ τὴν Σιλωὰμ ἐπιστρέφον πηγὴν, ἐνθεν τε πάλιν ἐκκλίνον πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Σολομῶνος κολυμβήθραν, καὶ ᾤκηον μέχρι χώρου τινὸς ὃν καλοῦσιν Ὀφλάν τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν στοᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνήκται. — Bell. v. 4, 2.

² Tobl. Top. ii. 78.

³ Itinerar. Hieros.

⁴ See Bell. vi. 6, 3; ii. 17, 9.

and for the lodgings of the servants of the Temple, 'The Nethinims who dwelt in Ophel.'¹

On the *north* of the High Town, the first wall ran from Hippicus along the brow of Sion in an easterly direction, till it reached the ravine between the High Town and the Temple, that is, until it touched the Xyst, when it passed the Council-house, and so united itself to the *western* cloister of the Temple.² As the northern wall is said to have run, not to the northern, but to the western cloister, we may infer that it joined the western cloister, not at the north-west corner, but a little lower down. The fourth of the western gates of the Temple, which led to 'the other city,' must have stood just without the northern wall of the High Town, where it joined the Temple; for, of the four western gates of the Temple, one the southern, led to the High Town, and the two next down to the suburb; and the fourth is described as descending by several steps into the valley, and then up again to the other city.³

The Xyst, which was touched by the north wall of the High Town, was a place of exercise and public recreation, borrowed from the Greeks, and signifying in Greek a plain or levelled area. In the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, Jason, the brother of Onias the high priest, offered to pay the king of Syria 150 talents for permission to erect a gymnasium at Jerusalem after the fashion of the heathen;⁴ and, license being granted,

¹ Nehem. iii. 26.

² διατεῖνον ἐπὶ τὸν Ξυστὸν λεγόμενον, ἔπειτα τῇ Βουλῇ συνάπτον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑσπέριον τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοάν ἀπηρτίζετο. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

³ Ant. xv. 11, 5.

⁴ εἰὰν συγχωρηθῇ διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτοῦ γυμνάσιον καὶ ἐφηβίαν αὐτῷ συστήσασθαι. — 2 Macc. iv. 9.

he formed a gymnasium under the Acropolis.¹ As the Acra of the Macedonians had not then been built, by the Acropolis can only be meant the Temple Platform, and it agrees with this that the Xyst is described by Josephus as below the Temple.² The assemblies of the people were commonly held in the Xyst;³ and in one place it is said that they were called together into the great Stadium, and by this expression, as the usual length of the Xyst amongst the Greeks was a stadium, the Xyst may be intended.⁴

The Council-house, which the wall of the High Town passed on its way to the Temple, occupied the site of the corresponding building of the present day, viz. the Mekhemeh, or Town Hall, which stands on the south side of the raised street leading from the Jaffa Gate to Bab es Sinsileh, one of the western gates of the Haram.⁵ The wall of the High Town probably crossed the valley on the south side of the Council-house; for Titus, before he had taken this wall, threw up a mound on the north side of the wall over against the Inner Temple,⁶ so that a great part of the Temple must have been to the north of the wall. The junction-wall between the High Town and the Temple could not have passed, as some suppose, in the line of the present causeway leading up to Bab es Sinsileh, for then Titus would not have had access to the western side of the Temple, which lay exclusively to the south of the causeway, nor does the

¹ ἀσμένως γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτὴν τὴν Ἀκρόπολιν γυμνάσιον καθίδρυσε. — 2 Macc. iv. 12.

² τοῦ Ξυστοῦ καθύπερθεν. — Bell. iv. 9, 12. γέφυρα τῷ Ξυστῷ τὸ ἱερὸν συνῆπτεν. — Ib. ii. 16, 3. τοὺς ἐχθροὺς [in the Temple] ὑπὲρ αἰγυφίην βλείποιτες. — Ib. iv. 3, 10.

³ Bell. ii. 16, 3; iv. 3, 10.

⁴ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ σταδίῳ. — Bell. ii. 9, 3.

⁵ Rob. iii. 227.

⁶ Bell. vi. 2, 7.

causeway itself run in the natural line of a wall passing along the northern brow of Sion, but more to the north.¹ For a long time it was supposed that this causeway was an embankment of solid earthwork, and a great part of Mr. Williams' hypothesis as to the site of the Temple rests upon this foundation; but, in fact, as appears from recent discoveries, the street is supported by a series of arches, a plan of which will be found in Tobler.²

We now proceed to the *second* wall, of which the short account in Josephus is this:—‘But the second wall had its commencement from the gate called Gennath, which was in the first wall, and encircling (κυκλούμενον) the quarter *only* which lay to the north [of the High Town], *went up* (ἀνέβη) to Antonia.’³ The necessity for this wall arose as follows. Jerusalem was at first the High Town on the western hill, now called Sion, and then spread itself to the eastern hill, where arose the Outer Low Town, and also to the west of the Temple at the north of the High Town, so as to cover the base and part of the slope of the saddleback, or swell of ground coming down from the north-west towards the Temple. This new settlement, the Inner Low Town, was bounded on the east by the Asmonean Valley running from the Damascus Gate to the Temple, and on the south by the Tyropæon Valley lying at the northern foot of the High Town. To protect this suburb it was required to carry a wall across the saddleback from the wall of the High Town in a northerly direction, and with a sweep round to the Temple Platform; and as the ground was naturally so unfavourable for defence, the only resource was to strengthen the fortification by a deep fosse. Accordingly, from a point about half-way

¹ Rob. iii. 226. ² Tobl. Dritte Wand, 224. ³ Bell. v. 4, 2.

between the Jaffa Gate and the Haram, that is, just east of the bazaars, a wall struck off northward until it passed the street now known as *Tarik el Alam*, or the *Via Dolorosa*. Half-way along this limb of the wall was the Gate of Ephraim, and at the northern end stood, as its name imports, the Corner Gate, afterwards called the *Porta Judiciaria*.¹ Thence the wall deflected eastward down into the valley, where was the Old Gate, and thence by the Fish Gate at the north-east corner to the north-west quarter of the Haram. The fosse is still to be traced in this line of the wall, across the high ground on the west, from David street to the *Porta Judiciaria*. That is to say, half-way along the street from the Jaffa Gate to the Temple, there run off to the north three parallel bazaars, which lie in an excavation of such depth that the roofs of the bazaars are on a level with the adjoining ground east and west,² and at the north end of the bazaars the excavation is still continued along the covered way as far as the *Porta Judiciaria*, at the junction of Damascus street and the *Via Dolorosa*;³ and no other explanation can be given of this artificial cutting, than that it was the old fosse of the second wall to protect it on the west. The rock also to the east of the bazaars rises to the surface, and therefore presents a good line of defence; and Tobler observed thereabouts a huge mass lying on the ground, which might be either a projection of the live rock or

¹ The site of the *Porta Judiciaria* is now placed to the west of Damascus street, but according to the oldest authorities it stood to the east of the street. F. Fabri, in going along Damascus street northward, saw the gate with half an arch of thick wall on the right hand, i. e. to the west of Damascus street. See Rob. iii. 171.

² Rob. iii. 166.

³ Rob. iii. 169. Tobl. Dritte Wand, 238.

the fragment of some wall or building.¹ From the Porta Judiciaria to the Fish Gate no traces remain. But Krafft states that the Via Dolorosa lies in a hollow, which he takes to be the fosse of the second wall in this part.² The well-known arch of the Ecce Homo probably represents the Fish Gate; and more to the south is an old Jewish tower, noticed both by Barclay³ and Tobler,⁴ which may have stood in the second wall before it connected itself with the Temple Platform.

Afterwards, in the time of Hezekiah, this line of the second wall underwent an alteration. For when an attack was impending from the Chaldees under Sennacherib, Hezekiah, in order to provide a supply of water in the event of a siege, constructed a pool, called ever since the Pool of Hezekiah, in the nook formed without the city by the north wall of the High Town and the western limb of the second wall; and, that he might place the pool out of the reach of the besiegers, he 'built another wall without:'⁵ that is, he carried a wall from the north wall of the High Town, near the Jaffa Gate, in a northern direction along the western side of the Pool of Hezekiah, and then eastward along the north of the pool, until it joined the western limb of the second wall at the Gate of Ephraim. When the fortifications were repaired by Nehemiah, as it was necessary to keep the pool within the city, this outer wall of Hezekiah, called from its unusual dimensions the Broad wall, was rebuilt;⁶ and from that time until the siege by Titus the course of the second wall remained as altered by Hezekiah. To this supplemental wall

¹ Tobl. Dritte Wand, 240.

² Krafft, 34.

³ Barclay, 452. See a view of it, *ib.* 430.

⁴ Tobl. Dritte Wand, 341.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

⁶ Neh. iii. 8.

added by Hezekiah and repaired by Nehemiah must be referred the remains which have been described in a former page,¹ viz. the foundations of an ancient wall ten or twelve feet thick, of bevelled stones and unquestionably Jewish, at the north of the Pool of Hezekiah, and running east and west; and also the ancient bevelled stones recently discovered in the angle formed at the northern end of the bazaars by Damascus street on the east, and the street coming down from the west, at the south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.²

Let us see how far this suggested line of the second wall is borne out by the testimony of Josephus.

The first statement is, that the second wall started from the gate Gennath, and the question arises, Where is this gate to be located?

If our view be correct, the site of the gate Gennath would be at a point due south from the south-west corner of the Pool of Hezekiah, that is, just to the east of the three great towers, the bulwark of Herod's Palace, viz. Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne. It may be the gate referred to by Josephus, but not named, by which the Jews sallied against the Romans as they were casting up mounds against the High Town in front of Herod's Palace.³

It is evident that the second wall did not strike off from Hippicus itself; for when Titus reconnoitred the city to select the place of assault, he decided on attempting the outer wall at the monument of the high priest John, which lay within the third or outer wall to the west of the Pool of Hezekiah, because there the *wall of the High Town was not covered by the second wall*, and therefore, if he could only capture the third

¹ See ante, p. 285.

² See ante, p. 158.

³ Bell. v. 92.

wall, he could then at once assault the first wall of the High Town, without taking the second wall.¹ Accordingly, when he became master of the third wall, he did make the assault upon the first wall of the High Town in this quarter, and Simon, who held the High Town, maintained the line of wall against him 'from the tomb of John as far as the gate by which the water was conveyed into the tower Hippicus.'² So that between the monument of John, which, from the nature of the case, was close to the second wall, and the tower of Hippicus, which lay at the north-west corner of the High Town, was a sufficient space for the army of Titus to deliver the assault against the High Town, and for Simon to make head against it.

Again, at the commencement of the Jewish war, when Cestius, the prefect of Syria, advanced at the head of a large force, the Jews in a panic abandoned the outer parts of the city covered by the third wall, and retired into what Josephus calls the Inner Town, and the Temple. Cestius, upon this, set fire to Bezetha and Cænopolis and the timber-market, and then, in order to proceed against 'the High Town,' pitched his camp opposite the king's palace (which was at the north-west corner of the High Town).³ If by the Inner Town be

¹ ἐξόκει κατὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ἀρχιερέως μνημεῖον προσβαλεῖν· ταύτη γὰρ τὸ τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρυμα χθαμαλώτερον, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνῆπτεν. . . ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ τρίτον ἦν εὐπέτεια δι' οὗ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν . . . αἰρήσειν ἐπενόει. — *Bell.* v. 6, 2.

² τὸ δὲ τοῦ Σίμωνος τάγμα τὴν παρὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου μνημεῖον ἐμβολὴν διαλαβόντες ἐφράξαντο μέχρι πύλης καθ' ἣν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰππικὸν πύργον εἰσῆκτο. — *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

³ τῶν μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως μερῶν εἶκον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐνδοτέραν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεχώρουν. . . Κέστιος δὲ προσελθὼν ὑπεμπίμπρησι τὴν τε Βεζεθὰν προσαγορευομένην καὶ τὴν Καινόπολιν καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Δοκῶν Ἀγοράν. ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐλθὼν ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 4.

meant, as some suppose, the quarter enclosed by the second wall, it is clear that Cestius could have assaulted the High Town in the space between the second and third walls, which would argue no little interval. I rather incline, however, to the opinion of Robinson¹ that by the Inner Town is meant the High Town, and that the conduct of the Jews on this occasion was the counterpart of that in the siege by Herod, when also the Jews retired into the Temple and the High Town;² for how else could Cestius, unless he was master of the second wall (which joined the north wall of the Temple Platform), have assaulted afterwards, as he did, the north gate of the Temple proper?³ However, whether Cestius was or not master of the second wall, it would seem that his operations were conducted without the second wall; for when Titus afterwards captured the first wall, and *before he had taken the second*, he devastated, it is said, the northern parts of the city, *which Cestius had done before*.⁴

These passages establish that the gate Gennath was not close to Hippicus, the corner tower. But, on the other hand, another citation leads necessarily to the inference that Gennath was not very far from Hippicus; for when Titus was assaulting the third or outer wall, the Jews were the less solicitous about its fall, because, even if taken, there would still remain two walls—⁵ language that could not have been used had the second

¹ Rob. iii. 215.

² εἰς τὸ ἔσωθεν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν Ἰουδαῖοι συνέφυγον.—*Ant.* xiv. 16, 3.

³ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν πύλιν ὑποκιμπρᾶναι παρεσκευάζοντο.—*Bell.* ii. 19, 5.

⁴ τὰ προσάρκτια τῆς πόλεως ἃ καὶ πρότερον Κέστιος.—*Bell.* v. 7, 2.

⁵ ἐτέρων μετ' αὐτὸ λειπομένων δύο.—*Bell.* v. 7, 2.

wall covered for instance one half only of the north wall of the High Town. But, in fact, at the north-west corner of the High Town was Herod's Palace, protected on the north by the three strong towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne; and, as the gate Gennath was close to the easternmost of these towers, the Jews might well consider themselves secure when the northern line was defended by two walls, except where the three towers bade defiance to any assault. It is true that Titus had hoped to storm these towers, and when master of the outer wall made the attempt, but he failed, and eventually took the High Town from the *west*.¹

But if Gennath was so near to Hippicus, how, it will be asked, could first Cestius and then Titus² find room to pitch a camp in the space between the third wall on the west and the second wall on the east? Now, on looking at the map, it will be seen that although there was little space between Gennath and Hippicus, yet, when the second wall in striking off northward had passed the Pool of Hezekiah, it turned eastward as far as Damascus street, so that at a little distance from the north wall of the High Town was an open area wide enough for any encampment, and far enough removed to be out of reach of the enemy's missiles.³ This Champ de Mars at the north-west of the old city, bounded on the south by the wall of the High Town, on the west and north by the third wall, and on the east by the second wall, was the Fuller's field, the camp of the Assyrians.

One expression of Josephus deserves particular com-

¹ οἱ μὲν ὅλον ἀνατετράφθαι τὸ πρὸς δύσιν τεῖχος ἠγγελον. — *Bell.* vi. 8, 4.

² *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

³ *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

ment. He says that the second wall '*encircled* the northern part,'¹ from which we may conclude that the second wall took a sweep round to the north; and accordingly, as we have seen, the line of the second wall was not *direct* from Gennath to Antonia, but ran first north, then east, then again north, and then bent round in a curve to Antonia.

There is also another word in the passage of Josephus relating to the second wall which must not be passed over. Josephus says that the second wall *ἀνῆλθε*, '*went up*,' to Antonia; that is, it *descended* into the Asmonean Valley and then *ascended* to Moriah, the eastern ridge, upon which stood Antonia. It did not, for instance, as some suppose, cross the Asmonean Valley in the line of the Damascus Gate to the eastern ridge, and then *descend* southward to Antonia.

That the second wall did not *cover Antonia* on the north is evident, for Titus hoped by taking the first wall, and, without taking the second, to assault Antonia, and thereby possess himself of the Temple.²

The second wall, if it pursued the direction assigned to it, would have two limbs, a northern and a western; and, when Titus had captured the second wall, he threw down the northern portion, but left standing that which ran southward, and posted guards upon it.³ The object of this was to assist his approaches against the High Town over against the Palace of Herod.

The *northern* limb of the second wall would be nearly in a line with the northern wall of the Temple enclosure;

¹ κυκλούμενον τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

² *Bell.* v. 6, 2.

³ τὸ προσάρκτιον μὲν εὐθέως κατέρριψε πᾶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ κατὰ μεσημερίαν φρουρῶν τοῖς πύργοις ἐγκαταστήσας τῷ τρίτῳ προσβάλλειν ἐπενόει. — *Bell.* v. 8, 2.

and this, we think, is implied by a circumstance in the siege by Herod and Sosius. Herod pitched his camp at the north of the *Temple* and cast up three mounds there,¹ and when Sosius joined him it is said that the united forces 'were posted all along against the *northern wall of the city*,'² thus treating the northern wall of the Temple as an integral part of the northern city wall.

But it will be objected, If you draw the second wall thus, the tract enclosed by it becomes quite insignificant. We answer that this is required by all the notices of it in Josephus.

In the first place, the course of the second wall is dispatched by Josephus in three lines, which in itself indicates the little importance he attached to it; and, again, he says it enclosed that quarter *only* which lay against the north of the High Town, and this disparaging adjunct 'only' points also to the same conclusion. But the relative numbers of towers in the three walls are still more conclusive, for while the first wall had sixty and the third ninety, the second had only *fourteen towers*.³ The difficulty with the second wall is not that it enclosed too little, but how, consistently with the statement that it had only fourteen towers, it can be so drawn as to encompass a space sufficiently small. The reason why so many writers wish to extend the dimensions arises from the mis-

¹ Ant. xiv. 15, 14.

² διεκάθηγντο πρὸς τῇ βορείῃ τείχει τῆς πόλεως.—Ant. xiv. 16, 1.

³ Bell. v. 4, 2. Fergusson writes: 'The old wall had sixty, the middle wall *forty* (!), and the new, or outer wall, ninety towers' (p. 43). We are so much indebted to Fergusson for his architectural suggestions, that we can readily pardon the mistake of forty for fourteen, but any argument built upon the error of course falls to the ground.

taken impression that the whole of the Low Town lay within the second wall; but, as we have seen, the quarter within the second wall, though a portion of the Low Town, was by no means the principal part of it. The Low Town, or Acra, comprised, firstly, the Temple Platform itself, on which was the Acra of the Macedonians, whence the whole Low Town, called before the City of David, took its name; secondly, the Inner Low Town enclosed by the second wall; and, thirdly, the Outer Low Town to the south of the Temple on Ophel.

Now that we have concluded our description of the course of the second wall, we may address ourselves to the *vezata quæstio* —

Does the so-called Holy Sepulchre represent correctly the place where our Lord's body was laid?

Let us examine first the few *indicia* to be found in the New Testament as to the locality of our Lord's crucifixion, and consequently of His sepulchre, which was near to it.

1. Our Lord was tried by Pilate at the Prætorium.
2. The crucifixion was *without* the city, but close to it.
3. There was a *garden* nigh at hand. 4. In the garden was a *sepulchre*.

1. From the high priest's house, or perhaps from the chamber of the Sanhedrim, our Lord was conducted to the Prætorium,¹ the official residence of the prætor or procurator. What the Prætorium was we are expressly informed by Mark, — 'the palace which is the Prætorium.'² There were several palaces at Jerusalem, but 'The Palace' *par excellence* was that of Herod at

¹ τὸ Πραιτώριον. — John xviii. 28, 33; xix. 9. Matt. xxvii. 27.

² τῆς αὐλῆς ὃ ἐστὶ Πραιτώριον. — Mark xv. 16.

the north-west corner of the High Town, defended on the north by the three famous towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne. In the court-yard in front of the palace was the tessellated pavement, or Gabbatha,¹ on which was placed the portable chair of state, or tribunal, on which the procurator sat to hear legal proceedings.² That the Palace of Herod was the ordinary residence of the procurators is manifest from the whole history of Josephus,³ but one passage is almost an echo of the account in the gospels. When the last great rebellion broke out, thirty-three years after the crucifixion, the people insulted the troops of Florus, who was then procurator; and the historian proceeds: 'But Florus was then residing in *the palace*, and the next day he set his *tribunal* in front of it and sat thereon, and the chief priests and magnates, and all the most notable men of the city, approached and stood by the tribunal.'⁴ Here we have Florus, like Pilate, residing in the palace, and then coming forth to the Jews and occupying the *βῆμα*. The charge against our Lord was made at so early an hour that Pilate appears to have been roused from his slumbers; and it was while he was on the *βῆμα* that his wife, who had not yet risen and was excited by the popular tumult, had the well-known dream, and sent a message to Pilate in consequence. All this marks the locality as being Pilate's ordinary residence, the Palace of Herod at the

¹ קרנתי, from כנני or כנני. Krafft, 166.

² ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Λιθόστρωτον, Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθᾶ. — John xix. 13.

³ See Bell. ii. 3, 2; ii. 15, 5.

⁴ Φλώρος δὲ τότε μὲν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις αὐλίζετο, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ βῆμα πρὸ αὐτῶν θέμενος καθίζετο, καὶ προσελθόντες οἷτε ἀρχιερεῖς τό τε γνωριμώτατον τῆς πόλεως πᾶν παρέστησαν τῷ βήματι. — Bell. ii. 14, 8.

north-west corner of the High Town. The monkish tradition of the trial of our Lord at what is called Pilate's house, at the north-west corner of the Haram, is purely the result of ignorance. This spot was never occupied as a palace at all, but was the site of the Acra, the Macedonian fortress.

As our Lord was tried and condemned at the Prætorium, He would naturally be led out of the city by the nearest gate (which would be Gennath where the second wall branched off from the first near the Prætorium) to Golgotha, which lay to the north of the Palace, but somewhat to the east.

2. The Crucifixion was *without* the city, but near to it.¹ The gate Gennath, which stood just east of the Palace in the wall of the High Town, on the northern brow of the hill now called Sion, and just west of the second wall, led out of the city along the foot of the western limb of the second wall. After passing the Pool of Hezekiah, the wall turned eastward until it reached the present bazaars, and then deflected northward, and in this angle or corner was Golgotha; and, as our Lord and the two bandits were crucified as malefactors for a public example, their crosses were erected within sight of the city, that is, by the side of the great public thoroughfare to the north running along the foot of the western limb of the second wall, formerly occupied by bazaars, but now deserted. Accordingly we find the people who passed along the thoroughfare wagging their heads and reviling our Lord.²

It is objected that Calvary as now pointed out is *within the city*, and so it is at the present day; but it was not within the city as bounded by the second

¹ Matt. xxviii. 32.

² Mark xv. 29. Matt. xxvii. 39.

wall, the limit of the city in the time of our Lord, but was enclosed for the first time by the wall of Agrippa, which was begun ten years after the crucifixion, in A.D. 43, and completed in A.D. 70. In the time of the prophets Calvary appears to have been called Goath, and was without the city, but destined in after times, according to Jeremiah, to be comprised within it: 'The measuring line shall yet go forth . . . and shall compass about to Goath,'¹ a prediction which was eventually fulfilled by this very wall of Agrippa. Goath signifies 'violent death,' and Krafft ingeniously, and probably with truth, derives the word Golgotha from *גל* *cumulus*, *נחל* *mortuus est violentiâ*, i. e. the Mount of Execution — the place where criminals suffered the last penalty of the law.² In the days of the Apostles this etymology, if the correct one, was lost, for Luke renders Golgotha 'the place called the Skull,'³ from which some have thought that it was so named as being a knoll in the form of a skull. But in the other Evangelists, Golgotha is rendered the place *of a skull*,⁴ or, as we should say, 'Deadman's piece,' a name which may have been given to it from the public executions there, or from the cemetery which was close by.

3. At the place of the crucifixion was a Garden, and we have circumstantial evidence that gardens did then exist in this part. In the first place, the gate which led from the High Town on the hill now called Sion in that direction was called Gennath, or the *Garden Gate*,⁵ so that, at one time at least, there must have been

¹ Jer. xxxi. 38.

² Krafft, 158.

³ τόπος ὁ καλούμενος Κρανίον. — Luke xxiii. 33.

⁴ Matt. xxvii. 33. Mark xv. 22. John xix. 17.

⁵ From Γήνη gardens.

gardens in that quarter. Again, we find express mention by Josephus of gardens just *without* Agrippa's wall, for Titus's first step was to clear away the gardens;¹ and as the wall of Agrippa was not completed until A.D. 70, it is likely that gardens were to be found, though less frequently, within as well as just without the third wall. That there were trees, and therefore, as we may conclude, gardens, may also be inferred from this, that the pool there was called Amygdalon, or the Pool of Almond Trees, a name which must have arisen from the almond trees that grew there. Gardens have certainly been cultivated in this part in modern times, for until 1844 a small pool, called the Pool of Bathsheba, was kept up, just on the left as you entered the Jaffa Gate, for watering the gardens in the neighbourhood; but in that year, at the request of the French consul, the pool was filled up.² It will be said that, as the wall of Agrippa, erected in A.D. 43, struck off from Hippicus itself towards the north, all the suburb in the intervening space between Agrippa's wall and the second wall must, in A.D. 33, have been covered with houses. But this does not follow, for the wall of Agrippa started from Hippicus, not to protect any crowded streets in that part (which did not exist), but only on strategic grounds. Even after a lapse of twenty-three years from the erection of Agrippa's wall, viz. in A.D. 66, the population in that direction appears to have been very sparse; for Cestius, who had been admitted within Agrippa's wall, encamped at the north of the palace or Prætorium;³ and again, in A.D. 70, when

¹ καταβληθέντος δὲ παντὸς ἔρκους καὶ περιφράγματος ὅσα κήπων προανεστήσαντο καὶ δένδρων οἱ οἰκήτορες. — *Bell.* v. 3, 2.

² Schultz, 78.

³ Κέστιος δὲ παρελθὼν ὑπεμπίμνησι τὴν τε Βεζέθιν προσαγορευο-

Titus appeared before the city, he assaulted Agrippa's wall just on the north of Hippicus, for, if he succeeded in taking that wall, he would then find the road open to the first wall, or that of the High Town, as the second wall in that part did not cover it. And why? 'Because they who built the second wall had neglected to enclose this part of the new city, as being only thinly inhabited.'¹

4. In the garden was the Sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea, a member of the Sanhedrim and a rich man. Now, that persons of distinction were buried at this very spot we may collect from the fact that Titus planned an assault upon the High Town on the north, between Agrippa's wall and the second wall, at the *monument of the high priest John*;² and if a high priest was buried there, why might not Joseph of Arimathea, another magnate, have also excavated for himself a tomb in the same quarter? The existence of a cemetery here accounts at once for the population in this district being so scant, for it is well known that the Jews had a religious horror of a burial-ground, and interred without the city, and could not be induced to dwell on a spot defiled by the presence of a dead body.

μένην καὶ τὴν Καινόπολιν καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Δοκῶν ἀγορὰν, ἔπειτα πρὸς τὴν ἄνω πόλιν ἐλθὼν, ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 4.

¹ ταύτη γὰρ τό τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρυμα χθαμαλώτερον, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνῆπτεν, ἀμελησάντων καθ' ἃ μὴ λίαν ἡ καινὴ πόλις συνῆκιστο τειχίζειν. — *Bell.* v. 6, 2.

² ἐδόκει κατὰ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀρχιέρους μνημεῖον προσβαλεῖν· ταύτη γὰρ τό τε πρῶτον ἦν ἔρυμα χθαμαλώτερον, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον οὐ συνῆπτεν. — *Bell.* v. 6, 2.

As regards tradition we have little faith in it generally, but in this case it reaches back to a very early period, and entirely agrees with the conclusions to which the notices in the New Testament would lead us. It would exceed the limits of a mere sketch, to trace the stream of testimony from the earliest to the latest times; but, fortunately, two authorities, the most ancient and therefore the most valuable, are clear and decisive.

The first of our two guides is the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 333, a few years after the commencement of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by Constantine the Great in A.D. 326, and two years only before the final dedication of it in A.D. 335.

After describing the Platform of the Temple and the notable places about it, he proceeds:—

‘Also, as you go out [of the Temple] to ascend Sion, on the left hand and down in the valley *near the wall*, is the pool which is called Siloam. It has four porches, and without is *another large pool*. This fountain runs six days and nights, but on the seventh day is the sabbath, when it runs not at all, by day or night.’¹ Thus the progress of the Pilgrim on leaving the Temple is to the left down the Tyropœon until he comes to Siloam, which is located by him ‘near the wall,’ i. e. outside the wall, but not far from it. That he had made his exit from the city is evident from this, that he presently speaks of again entering it. The city wall was probably then as now carried across the Tyropœon, between Siloam and the Temple enclosure. The outer pool, or that beyond Siloam, in the same valley, was the pool constructed between the

¹ ‘Item exeunti in Hierusalem ut ascendas Sion, in parte sinistra et deorsum in valle juxta murum est piscina quæ dicitur Siloa. Habet quadriporticum, et alia piscina grandis foras,’ &c.—*Itin. Hieros.*

two walls by Hezekiah, and of which the ruins may still be traced.¹

‘In the same part you go up Sion, and there is seen the site of the house of Caiaphas the priest, and there is still the column at which they beat Christ with scourges.’²

The house of Caiaphas is still shown without the wall on the south of Sion, half-way between the tomb of David and the Sion Gate, and is an Armenian convent.³ The column to which Christ was bound was pointed out here for some generations after this,⁴ but has long since disappeared; and a fragment is now exhibited in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

‘But inside, *within the wall of Sion*, is seen the place where David had his palace, and the seven synagogues which were there, one of which only has been left, but the rest are ploughed and sown, as said the prophet Isaiah.’⁵ The palace of David is no doubt identical with the palace of Herod at the north-west corner of the High Town, and is now the castle of David. The site of the last of the seven synagogues is no longer traceable.

‘Thence to go *without the wall*, as you go *from Sion* to the Neapolis [or *Nablous*]⁶ Gate, on the right hand

¹ See ante, p. 288.

² ‘In eadem ascenditur Sion, et paret ubi fuit domus Caiaphæ Sacerdotis; et columna adhuc ibi est in quâ Christum flagellis ceciderunt.’ — *Itin. Hieros.*

³ Rob. i. 229.

⁴ See *Itin. Hieros.* by Wesseling.

⁵ ‘Intus autem intra murum Sion, paret locus ubi palatium habuit David, et septem synagogæ quæ illic fuerunt; una tantum remansit, reliquæ autem arantur et seminantur sicut Isaias propheta dixit.’ — *Itin. Hieros.*

⁶ Nablous is the corruption of Neapolis, by which name Sychar, on the great north road through Samaria, was then called. The

down in the valley are the walls where was the house, or Prætorium, of *Pontius Pilate*. There the Lord was heard before He suffered. But on the left hand is the little mount Golgotha, where our Lord was crucified. Thence about a *stone's throw* is the crypt where his body was laid and on the third day rose again. On the same spot, by command of the Emperor Constantine, has been lately erected a basilica, that is, a Lord's house, of wonderful beauty, having at the side reservoirs whence water is raised, and at the back a bath where *infants* are washed.¹

This passage determines beyond question the traditional sites of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre at the time of the Pilgrim's visit. As the church was building at this very time, he could not be mistaken, and his description of the localities is so exact that it cannot be wrested to a double meaning. The words 'without the wall' have been a stumbling-block to some, as if the writer had made his exit from the wall of *the city*, whereas he evidently refers only to the wall of Sion.

Pilgrim himself passed through Nablous on his way to Jerusalem. 'Civitas Neapoli. Ibi est mons Agazaren. Ibi dicunt Samaritani,' &c., and it cannot be supposed that, in speaking of the Porta Neapolitana, the Pilgrim could mean anything else than the Nablous Gate by which he had entered.

¹ 'Inde ut eas foris murum, de Sione euntibus ad portam Neapolitanam, ad partem dextram deorsum in valle sunt parietes, ubi domus fuit sive Prætorium Pontii Pilati. Ibi Dominus auditus est antequam pateretur. A sinistrâ autem parte est monticulus Golgotha, ubi Dominus crucifixus est. Inde quasi ad lapidem missum est cripta ubi corpus ejus positum fuit et tertiâ die resurrexit. Ibidem modo jussu Constantini Imperatoris Basilica facta est, id est, Dominicum miræ pulchritudinis, habens ad latus exceptoria unde aqua levatur, et balneum a tergo ubi infantes lavantur.' — *Itin. Hieros.*

The words are: 'to go without the wall [i.e. the wall of Sion mentioned just before], as you go [not from the city, but] from *Sion*.' It is impossible that he could have quitted the city, for he immediately points out the house of Pilate on the right, and Golgotha on the left, which were both, in the days of the Pilgrim, unquestionably within the walls. Besides, he advances to the Nablous or Damascus Gate; and, had he entered the gate from without, he would have had the valley on his left, whereas he expressly tells us that the valley was on his right. The allusion to a wall within the city need not create surprise, for when Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus he left standing the three great towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, in the north wall of the High Town; and if the towers were spared the wall connecting them would remain also. It is not improbable that Sion may in his time, as in the days of Josephus, have been enclosed by a wall on all sides. However, it is sufficient for our purpose that the Pilgrim had just before alluded to David's palace, i.e. Herod's palace, which was protected by the towers of Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne on the north, so that, in going from Sion to the Nablous Gate, he would naturally pass the old wall of the Upper Town, which had been left standing by Titus. At the present time Jerusalem is traversed from south to north by a great thoroughfare, which runs from Sion Gate on the south to David street, and then, after a fault or break, is continued on to the Damascus Gate. The Pilgrim evidently intends his reader to accompany him along the same route; and, if so, in descending from Sion to Damascus street, he would pass the wall of Sion at the spot where now

stands the Porta Ferrea¹ (which may be, not Gennath, but the gate of communication between Sion and the northern quarter), and he would then proceed, to use his own words, 'from Sion to the Nablous Gate,' and pass along Damascus street. On the right, he says, down in the valley, was the house of Pilate; and so it is at the present day, for on the right is the valley which descends from the Damascus Gate to the Haram, and on the eastern brink of the valley is the traditional house of Pilate, at the north-east corner of the Haram. On the left, says the Pilgrim, was Golgotha; and so it is, for at the distance of about 300 feet from the main street on the left is the spot now so called. At a stone's throw, says the Pilgrim, from Golgotha, was the Holy Sepulchre; and so it is, for at forty yards from Golgotha, and on the other side of it, is the Holy Sepulchre.² On the same spot, says the Pilgrim, was the newly erected Basilica of Constantine;³ and there now is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. At the side of the Basilica, says the Pilgrim, are reservoirs whence water is raised; and accordingly on the one side of the church, on the north, is the greatest cistern in Jerusalem, called the Treasury of Helena; so named from the mother of Constantine, who herself had been a pilgrim to these holy places, and was mainly instrumental in promoting the erection of the church. On the other side, the south, is what is called the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, but which is neither more nor less than an ancient cistern.⁴ At the back of the Basilica, says the Pilgrim, was the bath where infants are washed; and at the rear of what must have

¹ Rob. iii. 200. Tobl. Top. i. 414.

² Barclay, 237.

³ 'That is, the Dominicum' (κυριακόν, kirk, or church).

⁴ Murray's Handboek to Syria.

been the site of the Basilica is now the part called the Baptistery.¹

We proceed to call our other witness, Eusebius, who also lived at the time when the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was built, and personally took part, as Bishop of Cæsarea, in the dedication of it. His testimony, therefore, is unimpeachable as to the site of the Sepulchre at that time, and as might be expected, entirely agrees with that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, who saw the structure rising. There are two passages in Eusebius relating to the Holy Sepulchre which at first sight might appear contradictory, but require only a little explanation. In one place he states that Constantine erected his Basilica 'in the midst of the royal hearth [home or seat] of the Hebrews,'² that is, in the midst of the royal city of Jerusalem;³ in another place we read that 'about the Saviour's Martyrium [the Holy Sepulchre] was erected the new Jerusalem, facing the one so famous of old, which having, after the bloody tragedy of our Lord's murder, been hurled down to the lowest depth of desolation, paid the penalty of its impious inhabitants. It was then, *over against this*, that the Emperor exalted with rich and costly honours the scene of the Saviour's victory over death, being perhaps that new and young Jerusalem foreshadowed by the prophetic oracles,' &c.⁴ Thus the

¹ The Treasury of Helena was near the Baptisterium. Quaresmius.

² Τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Παλαιστινῶν ἔθνους, τῆς Ἑβραίων βασιλικῆς ἐστίας ἐν μέσφ. — Euseb. *Laus Const.* ix.

³ See Valerii Epistol. de Anastasi, &c.

⁴ καὶ δὴ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ Σωτήριον Μαρτύριον ἡ νέα κατεσκευάζετο Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ πάλαι βοωμένῃ, ἥ μετὰ τὴν Κυριοκτόνον μαιφονίαν ἐρημίας ἐπ' ἔσχατα περιτραπέϊσα, δίκην ἔτισε δυσσεβῶν οἰκητόρων. Ταύτῃ οὖν ἀντικρὺ τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου Σωτήριον νίκην πλουσίαις καὶ δαψιλέσιν ἀνύψου φιλοτιμίαις, τάχα πον ταύτην

Church of the Holy Sepulchre is described as, at the same time, within and without the city ; and so it was in fact : that is, within the city enclosed by the wall of Agrippa and restored by Adrian, but without the city as it existed at the time of the crucifixion, in A. D. 33. It may seem strange to some that the Sepulchre which is now in the heart of Jerusalem, should ever have stood without the walls ;¹ but this growth of the city is but the accomplishment of Constantine's design. The centre of attraction of old Jerusalem had been the Temple on the eastern hill ; in lieu of it Constantine now erected on the western hill the new Temple, which was to collect about it all the Christian population. In the assertion that the Basilica faced the old city which had crucified the Lord, Eusebius had in his mind the contrast between the two Temples, viz. that while the Temple of Solomon stood on the eastern hill, the Temple of Constantine was erected on the western hill. That the Basilica was at all events built on the western, and not on the eastern, hill is placed beyond controversy by the statement of Eusebius in his other work, the 'Onomasticon,' that its position was to the north of Sion ;² for at that day Sion was unquestionably the western hill, as we have seen in the journey of the Bordeaux Pilgrim, the contemporary of Eusebius. Had the Basilica stood on the eastern hill, it would have been described as lying at the north, not of Sion, but of Ophel.

οὐσαν τὴν διὰ προφητικῶν θεσπισμάτων κεκηρυγμένην καινὴν καὶ νέαν Ἱερουσαλήμ, etc. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 33.

¹ Can it be said that executions did not take place at Tyburn Gate, or that malefactors were not buried there, because the spot is now far within the present London ?

² δέικνυται ἐν Αἰλία πρὸς τοῖς βορείοις τοῦ Σιών ὄρους. — *Onomast. art.* Γολγοθά.

The Church of Constantine over the Holy Sepulchre has long since been destroyed, but the present edifice answers remarkably in its ground-plan and general features to the description of the original fabric.¹

To begin with the Holy Sepulchre itself. Eusebius states that the mouth of the Sepulchre 'looked towards the rising sun,' and that the several buildings attached to it followed successively from the Sepulchre in an eastward direction;² and so it is still. The mouth of the Sepulchre is to the east, and advancing from the Sepulchre eastward we have the several holy places following one another seriatim in that direction, and terminating with the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, near Damascus street.

Again, Constantine first isolated the Holy Sepulchre by cutting away the rock about it,³ and then embellishing the Sepulchre itself by erecting over it an oratory supported by columns, and loaded with gorgeous ornament.⁴ This oratory is now represented by the

¹ See view of the present church from the south, in Barclay, 220; Vogüé, frontispiece. See plan of it, Barclay, 231; Tobl. Top. i. 268.

² τῷ γὰρ καταντικρὺ πλευρῷ τοῦ ἄντρον, ὃ δὴ πρὸς ἀνισχόντα ἥλιον ἑώρα, ὁ βασιλεὺς συνῆπτο νεῶς, ἔργον ἐξαίσιον, εἰς ὕψος ἀπειρον ἡρμένον μήκους τε καὶ πλάτους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον εὐρυνόμενον. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 36.

³ 'The entrance, which was at the door of the Saviour's sepulchre, was hewn out of the rock itself, as is customary here in the front of the sepulchres. For now it appears not, the outer cave having been hewn away for the sake of the present adornment; for, before the Sepulchre was decorated by royal zeal, there was a cave in the face of the rock.' — *Cyrl, Lect.* xiv. 9.

⁴ καὶ δὴ τοῦ παντός ὥσπερ τινὰ κεφαλὴν πρῶτον ἀπάντων τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον ἐκόσμει, μνημα ἐκεῖνο θεσπέσιον. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 33. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν πρῶτον, ὡσανεὶ τοῦ παντός κεφαλὴν, ἐξαίρετοις κίοσι κόσμῳ τε πλείστῳ κατεποίκιλλεν ἡ βασιλέως φιλοτιμία, παντοίοις καλλωπίσμασι καταφαιδρύνουσα. — *Ib.* iii. 34.

ædicula, or little chapel, containing the Holy Sepulchre itself.¹

‘He then passed on,’ says Eusebius, ‘to quite a large space, an area clear and open to the sky, which was decorated with a pavement of polished stone, and enclosed on three sides with long cloisters running round.’² The colonnade was not continued on the east side, because ‘on the side facing the entrance to the crypt, which looked towards the east, the Basilica adjoined.’³ This feature also is preserved in the present building, for the colonnade of the Rotunda, 33 yards in diameter, runs round all the sides of the Sepulchre except the east, where is the vestibule of the church. The only difference is that the Rotunda, in the time of Constantine, was open to the heavens,⁴ but is now roofed in, and sustains a lofty dome. It may here be remarked that in this quarter of the city the hill slopes from west to east, and consequently in the formation of this level area the rock would necessarily be scarped on the west; and, accordingly, Dositheus mentions that on the west side of the Sepulchre was the wall only of the enclosure, because of the hill;⁵ and at the present day, on the west, the rock reaches up to the gallery of the Rotunda. Indeed, the entrance on this side was originally from Patriarch street, leading at once into

¹ See sketch in Bartlett's *Jerus.* 175, and Barclay, 234.

² διέβαινε δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ παμμεγέθη χώρον εἰς καθαρόν αἶθριον ἀναπεπταμένον· ὃν δὴ λίθος λαμπρὸς κατεστρωμένος ἐπ' ἐδάφους ἐκόσμει, μάκροισι περιδρόμοις στοῶν ἐκ τριπλεύρου περιεχόμενον. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 35. The *περιδρόμοις* and *περιεχόμενον* indicate the circular form of the court.

³ See passage cited *supra*, p. 377.

⁴ αἶθριον ἀναπεπταμένον. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 35.

⁵ ἔχει ὁ ναὸς τὸν ἅγιον κατὰ μὲν τὴν δύσιν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ὄρος, μόνον τοῖχον αὐτοῦ. — *Dositheus*, ii. i. 7.

the gallery;¹ but the door has been long closed, though still to be seen.²

The Basilica is described by Eusebius as comprising a grand nave, and on each side a double aisle with massive columns towards the nave, and square pilasters down the aisles behind for supporting the galleries.³ But what is most remarkable is that the aisles below were under ground, and the gallery only above ground. This phenomenon, unaccountable without reference to the spot itself, is a strong confirmation of the identity of the present church with that of Constantine, for not only at the west end of the Rotunda, but also along the south side and in parts of the north, the area of the church has been excavated. 'To the present day the rock rises 15 feet on the southern side of the site, and is exhibited on all sides, proving that the floor of the church must have been artificially sunk so much below the general surface.'⁴

'But three gates, well disposed towards the same rising sun, received the multitudes of those proceeding within.'⁵ These gates have been usually placed at the east end of the Basilica, but they were more probably at the western end. Gates may be described as directed towards either the quarter of the heavens which they face or that to which they lead. The expression 'well disposed towards the rising sun' seems to rather

¹ Holy City, ii. 204.

² See view of it in Vogüé, p. 209, and Bartlett's *Jerus. Revisit.* 91.

³ ἀμφὶ δ' ἐκάτερα τὰ πλευρὰ διπτῶν στοῶν, ἀναγείων τε καὶ καταγείων δίδυμοι παραστάδες. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 37.

⁴ Holy City, ii. 248.

⁵ πύλαι δὲ τρεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνισχόντα ἥλιον εὖ διακείμεναι τὰ πλήθη τῶν εἰσω φερομένων ὑπεδέχοντο. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 37.

indicate that they led inwards towards the east, and this is confirmed by some further considerations. The words are not *πρὸς ἀνισχόντα ἥλιον*, but *πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνισχόντα ἥλιον*, 'towards *this same* rising sun.' Eusebius had said before that on the east side of the Rotunda was the Basilica, and he now repeats that the gates of the Basilica were towards the same east that he had before referred to, i. e. the east as regards the Rotunda, and not as regards the Basilica. Eusebius, also, is apparently taking each object successively in his progress from west to east. As the gates come first in the description, and then the apse is spoken of as opposite the gates, we should place the gates on the west and the apse on the east. Again, after explaining the apse, which he places opposite to the gates, he proceeds: 'But advancing thence [i. e. from the apse] to the approaches [on the east]' &c.;¹ so that the apse was apparently situate at the end of the Basilica next the approaches, i. e. at the east of the Basilica. Besides, the apse and the altar were invariably in that age situate at the eastern end, as in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, built about the same time by the same emperor, Constantine.² The apse or semi-dome at the eastern end of the Basilica reached to the same height as the nave, and was supported by twelve columns with silver capitals after the number of the twelve apostles, and was regarded, from containing the altar, as the crown of the whole.

What, then, is the present state of things? The church has a grand nave and a double aisle on each side, and at the eastern end is the apse. Modifications

¹ *ἔλθεν δὲ προΐόντων*, etc. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 39.

² *Vogüé*, 157, 54.

in detail have no doubt been introduced from time to time, but notwithstanding the changes of plan introduced in successive centuries, and though the building itself has been repeatedly destroyed, the type of the church remains as originally described.

‘But advancing thence to the approaches which lay before the Temple, the open sky succeeded. But they [the approaches] were here on each side,¹ and then the entrance-court, and after that cloisters, and after all the gates leading to the court; after which, in the very midst of the wide market-place [or in the very midst of the street of the market], the propylæa of the whole, splendidly decorated, afforded to the passers-by a glimpse of the wonders within.’²

These ‘approaches lying *before* the Basilica’ must mean something more than the mere doorways, and accordingly, at the eastern end of the present dome, the ground sinks rapidly, so that the building could not have extended further in that direction, and the church is now reached on one side of the apse by a

¹ The common reading is ἦσαν δὲ ἐνταυθοῖ, &c., but the heading of the chapter is ἔκφρασις μεσανλείου καὶ ἐξεδρῶν καὶ προπύλου, whence some have suggested that ἐξεδραὶ should be read for ἐνταυθοῖ, as otherwise the chapter contains nothing to correspond with the prefatory announcement. However, it is not improbable that for ἐνταυθοῖ should be read εἰσοδοί, and then the passage would run: ‘But the *approaches* were on each side, and then the entrance-court, and after that cloisters,’ &c. In Vogüé, p. 174, these two stairs, one on each side of the apse, will be seen depicted.

² ἔνθεν δὲ προϊόντων ἐπὶ τὰς πρὸ τοῦ νεῶ κειμένας εἰσόδους αἶθριον διελάμβανεν. Ἦσαν δὲ ἐνταυθοῖ [lege εἰσοδοί] παρ’ ἐκάτερα καὶ αὐλὴ πρώτη, στοαὶ τ’ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αἱ αὐλαιοὶ πύλαι· μεθ’ ἃς ἐπ’ αὐτῆς μέσης πλατείας ἀγορᾶς, τὰ τοῦ παντός προπύλαια φιλοκάλως ἡσκημένα, τοῖς τὴν ἐκτὸς πορείαν ποιουμένοις καταπληκτικὴν παρεῖχον τὴν τῶν ἔνδον ὀρωμένων θέαν. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 40.

flight of forty steps.¹ The approaches in front of the Basilica were therefore the two flights of steps, one in the place of the present stairs on the south side of the dome, and the other in a corresponding position on the north side of the dome, and both leading down to the entrance-court. This entrance-court may be identified in part with the court now roofed in and used as a chapel, called the Chapel of Helena. But the original court extended much farther to the north, as far as the Cistern of Helena. The Bordeaux Pilgrim mentions that the Basilica had cisterns at the side; and, if we allow more space to the court northward, the Cistern of Helena would lie on the north, and what is now known as the Chapel of the Invention of the Cross, but was anciently a cistern, would lie on the south.

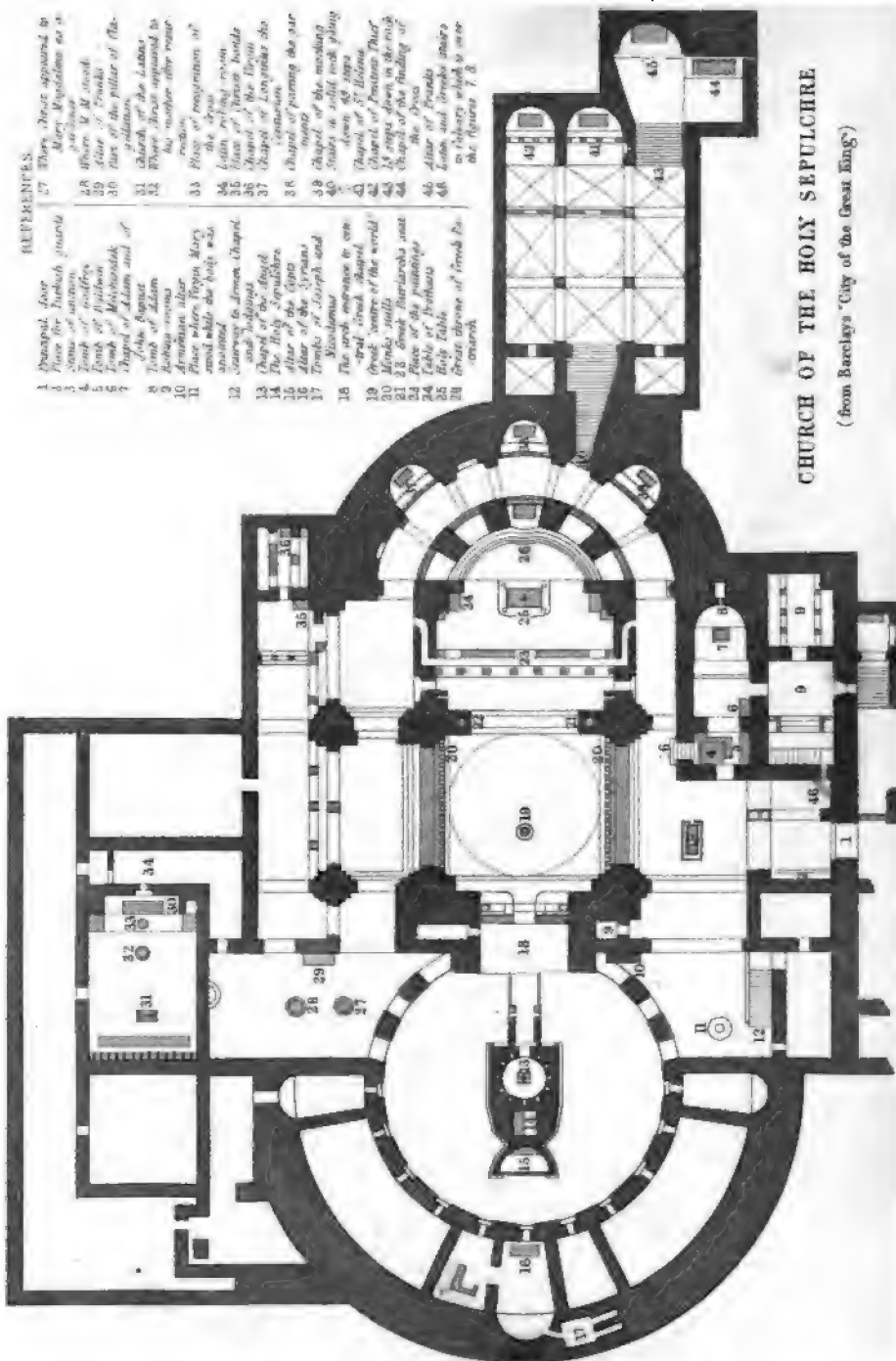
The Rotunda,² called in Constantine's time the Anastasis or Resurrection, and the Basilica called the Martyrium, are the only portions of the original buildings which are now represented. The cloisters running from the court to the propylæa over the market-place, and the propylæa themselves, have all disappeared.

It must not be lost sight of that the propylæa on the east fronted the market-place. If we pass from the Holy Sepulchre through the church, and thence in an eastern direction for just such a distance as we should allow for the court, and then the cloisters and propylæa, we arrive at Damascus street.³ We know that here

¹ See Barclay, 230; and plan, ib.

² τούτων δ' ἀντικρὺ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ παντὸς ἡμισφαιρίου ἦν, ἐπ' ἀκροῦ τοῦ βασιλείου ἐκτεταμένον, etc. — *Vit. Const.* iii. 39.

³ It would seem that even so early as the capture of the city by Titus, the markets were not improbably located along this thoroughfare: καθὸ καὶ τῆς Καινῆς πόλεως ἐριοπώλιά τε ἦν καὶ χαλκεῖα καὶ



REFERENCES.

1. Principal door
2. Place for Turkish guards
3. Tomb of Simeon
4. Tomb of Nicodemus
5. Tomb of Joseph
6. Tomb of Nicodemus
7. Chapel of St. Simeon
8. Tomb of Adam and of John the Baptist
9. Tomb of Adam
10. Tomb of John the Baptist
11. Place where the Holy Sepulchre stood while the Holy Sepulchre was being built
12. Entrance to the Holy Sepulchre
13. Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre
14. Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre
15. Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre
16. Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre
17. Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre
18. The arch entrance to the Holy Sepulchre
19. The arch entrance to the Holy Sepulchre
20. The arch entrance to the Holy Sepulchre
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43. The arch entrance to the Holy Sepulchre
44. The arch entrance to the Holy Sepulchre
45. The arch entrance to the Holy Sepulchre
46. The arch entrance to the Holy Sepulchre

CHURCH OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE
(from Barclay's "City of the Great King")

was the market in A.D. 870,¹ and along this street are still the remains of the bazaars, though now deserted. Four columns, the relics of the propylæa, are still to be seen in Damascus street, three under the high bank on the west side, and the fourth in the bazaars.² Vogüé has also recently discovered the corner pilaster on the south of the propylæa, as also the main pilaster at the north-west corner of the court, and, by connecting these and the columns together, he has shown incontestably the configuration of the court of the propylæa.³

The present Church of the Holy Sepulchre agrees thus in so many particulars with the Basilica of Constantine, that the coincidence can only be accounted for by the identity of the two.

Strange as it may seem, an attempt has recently been made to prove that the Holy Sepulchre is the chamber under the Sukrah, and that the Mosque of Omar is the church over the Holy Sepulchre, and that the Golden Gate is the vestibule leading to the Basilica. We have no hesitation in pronouncing the hypothesis to be wholly untenable. It would exceed our limits to discuss the question at length, but the following objections are, in the author's judgement decisive:—

1. The Pilgrim of Bordeaux states, as we have seen, that in going from Sion (the western hill) to the Nablous or Damascus Gate, he had the Church of the Sepulchre on his *left* hand; whereas the Mosque of Omar would be on his right.⁴

ἱματίων ἀγορά, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τεῖχος πλάγιοι κατέκεινον οἱ στενωποί.—*Bell.* v. 8, 1.

¹ 'Ante ipsum Hospitale [of St. John] est forum.'—*Bernard.* 10. See Rob. iii. 166.

² Rob. iii. 168. Tobl. Drit. Wand, 343.

³ See a plan of them in Vogüé, p. 126.

⁴ See ante, p. 372.

2. The same Pilgrim describes first the Temple enclosure from the Pool of Bethesda on the north to the substructions on the south, and makes no mention of the Basilica. He next makes his exit from the Temple Platform into the city, and then notices the Basilica. And it is clear from this that the Basilica was in the city, and not on the Temple Platform. The only building mentioned on the Platform is a certain *ædes* or temple, on the floor of which was still seen the blood of Zechariah, who was slain by the altar. The edifice, therefore, stood on the site of the Temple of Solomon, which identifies it with the Temple of Jupiter, which, on the restoration of the city by Adrian, was erected on that spot. Of course the *ædes* could not be the Basilica of Constantine, for no one ever dreamed that our Lord was buried where the blood of Zechariah was shed, that is, in the Temple of Solomon itself, which, at the time of the crucifixion, was still standing.

3. Eusebius, in his 'Onomasticon,' speaks of the Holy Sepulchre as lying *north* of Sion, that is, of the western hill, which, in the time of Eusebius, as now, was so called ;¹ whereas the Mosque of Omar stands at the north, not of the western hill, but of Ophel, the eastern.

4. The same writer describes the Sepulchre as erected without the city of those who crucified our Lord ;² whereas the site of the Mosque of Omar was not only within the city, but within the Temple Platform, the main part of the city. This Platform must, from the nature of the case, have been bounded from the earliest times by the Pool of Bethesda on the north, and by a great wall, of which the foundations still remain, on the

¹ See ante, p. 376.

² See ante, p. 375.

east ; and, if so, the site of the Mosque of Omar could never have been without the walls.

5. The chamber under the Sukrah has not the least resemblance to any sepulchre in or about Jerusalem, for it contains no *loculus* or receptacle for a body,¹ but, on the contrary, exhibits a round orifice in the roof, and another corresponding one in the floor, and was therefore in all probability the chamber belonging to a draw-well for raising water from the cisterns in the Temple Platform.

6. Admitting the cave under the Sukrah to be a sepulchre, it was not that over which Constantine erected his church, for Eusebius describes the Sepulchre as ‘ looking towards the rising sun ; ’² whereas the chamber under the Sukrah is many feet under the surface, and therefore looks no way, but is approached by a flight of twenty steps at the south-east corner.

7. According to Eusebius, the church over the Sepulchre had adjoining it on the east the Basilica ;³ but, if we look at the Golden Gate, the position of any basilica in connection with it must have been considerably to the north of the mosque ; and, accordingly, the Basilica is drawn by Mr. Fergusson himself, not in a line with the mosque, or near to it, but some hundred feet to the north of it.

8. Again, the Basilica, according to Eusebius, lay to the east of the Sepulchre, and faced the entrance to it ; whereas the approach to the chamber under the Sukrah is not on the east, but at the south-east corner, and the Basilica is not to the east of the mosque, but to the north-east of it.

¹ Holy City, ii. 196, note.

² See ante, p. 377.

³ See ante, p. 378.

* 9. The Basilica was built in an excavation, so that the lower floor of the aisles was under ground;¹ but the Mosque of Omar is built on an eminence.

10. The vestibule of the Basilica terminated eastward at a market-place,² but the Golden Gate terminates eastward at a cemetery. The existence of a market at the east of the Haram is, in the words of Mr. Willis, 'ludicrously impossible.'

11. According to Dositheus, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre could not be extended further west, because of the *hill* there.³ But the Mosque of Omar has on the west, not a hill, but the *valley* which comes down thither from the Damascus Gate.

12. If the Mosque of Omar be the church erected by Constantine over the Sepulchre, when did the edifice lose that character? and when did the present church on the opposite hill acquire the honour? Through all the historical records from that time to this, and they are voluminous enough, there is not a tittle of evidence, and not even a hint, that such a transference was ever made. Besides, how was it possible? Streams of pilgrims, from the days of Constantine downwards, visited yearly the holy shrine of our Lord's burial and resurrection, and how could they have made a mistake? Was it ever read or heard of, that any single pilgrim, in any age, visited the Sukrah as the site of our Lord's Sepulchre?

The argument chiefly insisted upon by Mr. Fergusson, the only writer who has ventured to maintain this opinion, is that from architectural *indicia* the Mosque of Omar must have been a Christian edifice, erected in the first half of the fourth century. We do not admit

¹ See ante, p. 379.

² See ante, p. 381.

³ See ante, p. 378.

the fact ;¹ but supposing it to be so, does it follow that the mosque was built by Constantine? The emperor died in A.D. 337, and the mosque may have been built by Constantine's successor, still in the first half of the fourth century. When the Roman world became Christian, new churches for many years were continually springing up, and the so-called Mosque of Omar may have been one of the number. At what precise period it was erected may never be proved, but it is clear to demonstration that the author of it was not Constantine. The basilicas which were his work in Palestine were only four : the basilica over the Sepulchre, which, as we have seen, is clearly identical with the present church on the western hill ; the basilica on Mount Olivet in honour of the Ascension ; another at Bethlehem, over our Lord's birthplace ; and another at the vale of Mamre, the dwelling-place of Abraham.² And all these were matter of notoriety, for even the Bordeaux Pilgrim, in the short notes of his Itinerary, makes mention of them all. Certainly, the Pilgrim was at Jerusalem in A.D. 333, and Constantine died four years later ; but, had any other basilica been built by Constantine in the interim, we may be sure that Eusebius, the fulsome panegyrist of the emperor, and who survived him many years, would have enumerated this as well as the others. Some stress is laid on the octagonal form of the Mosque of Omar, as indicating rather a sepulchral monument than a church ; but the argument is of no value, for not only the mausolea and baptisteries of that age, but even the basilicas also were not unfrequently of this form. Thus the basilica

¹ See reasons to the contrary in Bartlett's *Jerus. Rev.* 163.

² *Vit. Const.* iii. 43. *Paneg. Const.* ix.

erected by Constantine at Antioch in Syria was octagonal.¹

It is further maintained by Mr. Fergusson that the Golden Gate also was erected by Constantine, and, for aught I know to the contrary, this may be so; but it never formed the vestibule of a basilica built by Constantine on the Temple Platform. The Golden Gate was no vestibule at all, but the principal eastern gate of the city. It stood by itself, independent of any other building; at least it bears no traces of a former junction to any other edifice.² If it was the vestibule of a basilica, how is it that the vestibule remains so perfect, while of the basilica no vestige now exists, or can be shown to have ever existed? As the Golden Gate lies as nearly as possible in a direct line between the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Church of the Ascension on Mount Olivet, it may have been the portal through which the processions passed from one great church to the other. It is not a little remarkable that if we draw a line across the Temple Platform in the direction of the north wall of the Temple, which was a square 600 feet each way at the south-west corner of the Haram, the Golden Gate stands just half-way between that line and the northern boundary of the Temple Platform. This circumstance leads to the conclusion that when the gate was built, the church, now the Mosque of Omar, was not standing; and the difference in the style of architecture of the two structures leads to the same

¹ τὸν εὐκτῆριον οἶκον. . . . ἐν ὀκταέδρῳ μὲν συνεστῶτα σχήματι.—*Vit. Const.* iii. 50.

² See a view of it, from the north-west, in Bartlett's *Jerus. Rev.* 153; from the south-west, in Fergusson's *Notes on the Holy Sepulchre*; and from the east, in Traill's *Josephus*, ii. 198, and Bartlett's *Jerus.* 158; and of the interior, in Bartlett's *Jerus.* 159.

inference. Our conjecture would be, that when the so-called Mosque of Omar was built (whether by Christians or infidels) the whole Platform assumed a consecrated character, and that, in consequence, the Golden Gate was then closed as an ordinary thoroughfare from the city, and the gate of St. Stephen at the north of the Platform was opened instead. That either the Golden gate, or one on its exact site, was standing when the Bordeaux Pilgrim was at Jerusalem may be deduced from this, that after surveying the Temple Platform and the objects of interest about it, and then making his exit westward, he, apparently after traversing the city, returns again to the Platform, and proceeds thus:— ‘Also as you go from Jerusalem at *the gate which faces the east*, to ascend Mount Olivet, is the valley which is called Jehoshaphat. On the *left* hand are vineyards, and also the stone where Judas Iscariot betrayed Christ. But on the *right* hand is the palm-tree from which the children took branches and strewed them before Christ. Not far from thence, about a stone’s throw, are two monuments of wonderful beauty. In one, a true monolith, is buried the prophet Isaiah; and, in the other, Hezekiah king of the Jews.’¹

Observe here that he speaks of the eastern gate as if there were one only, and that, on his exit from the gate, the stone where Judas betrayed our Lord, that is, the garden of Gethsemane, was on the left hand, and the

¹ ‘Item ab Hierusalem euntibus ad portam quæ est contra orientem, ut ascendatur in montem Oliveti, vallis quæ dicitur Josaphath. Ad partem sinistram, ubi sunt vineæ, est et petra ubi Juda Scarioth Christum tradidit. A parte vero dextrâ est arbor palmæ, de quâ infantes ramos tulerunt et venienti Christo substraverunt. Inde non longe, quasi lapidis missum, sunt monumenta duo monubilia miræ pulchritudinis facta. In unum positus est Isaias Propheta, qui est vere monolithus, et in alium Ezekias rex Judæorum.’—*Itin. Hieros.*

monuments then called the tombs of Isaias and Hezekiah, but now of Absalom and Zedekiah, were on the right. This would be exactly the case if he went out of the Golden Gate, for then Gethsemane would be on his left hand and the monuments on his right; but, had the eastern gate of the city been St. Stephen's Gate, the garden of Gethsemane would not have been on his left, but the garden and the monuments would both have been on the right.

We shall assume, then, that the present Holy Sepulchre is identical with that over which Constantine erected his church. But here the question arises, Was the sepulchre so honoured by the emperor the veritable one in which the body of our Lord was deposited? This, it may be said, may have been the honest belief of Constantine and the ecclesiastics of the day; but had they the means of ascertaining the fact with any reasonable degree of certainty?

All the notices in the New Testament respecting the crucifixion point, as we have shown before, to this part of the city. It was without the walls; it was near the palace of Pilate, by whom our Lord was condemned; and it was beside the great thoroughfare along the foot of the second wall, from the north to the High Town, now called Sion, so that passers-by could witness the last agonies, and make their profane comments.

Not only so, but how could tradition have gone wrong in the time of Constantine, just three hundred years after the crucifixion? I readily adopt the remark of an acute writer, that during the first three centuries after Christ a legend was not so easily invented as a few centuries later, and that men who tried the experiment would have only been laughed at for their pains.¹

¹ Fergusson, 82,

Jerusalem was the birthplace of Christianity, which spread itself in successive circles round it to Judea, and thence to Syria, and thence to the ends of the world. How could it be that Christian communities in and about Jerusalem could ever lose sight of the hallowed spot where was enacted the great event on which all their hopes rested—the very keystone, in fact, of their religion? The place of the martyrdom of Stephen, or of the conversion of St. Paul, might well be shifted, as they have been, from one spot to another; but the tomb of Christ—the Martyrium, as it was called, of His resurrection—was too deeply imprinted in the memory to offer an opening to the practice of fraud.

There were also particular circumstances connected with the tomb which would serve to stereotype it in men's minds, and at the same time preserve it from spoliation. Eusebius states that 'Impious men (or rather the whole race of demons by their instrumentality) applied themselves to deliver over that divine monument of immortality to darkness and oblivion. . . . These godless and impious men, I say, were minded to cause the Saviour's tomb to vanish from the sight of men, thinking thus, in their foolish reasoning, to hide away the truth. With this view, having with great labour brought soil thither from the parts round about, they cover up the whole place, and having raised it to a great height and laid a stone pavement, they conceal the Holy Sepulchre beneath under the mass of earth. Then, as if nothing more remained, they erect upon the surface what was in truth a sepulchre of *souls*, by building a dark haunt of dumb idols to Venus the goddess of Lust.'¹ When this temple was erected is

¹ Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 26.

not said, but the common opinion is that it was at the restoration of the city by Hadrian; and, if so, the site of the Holy Sepulchre must surely have been known at that time, and the very temple itself would thenceforth be a standing witness of the treasure concealed under it. In the days of Constantine not the least doubt was entertained where the Sepulchre was situate, but the only hesitation was, whether, by removing the temple, the Sepulchre itself could be recovered. The attempt was made, the temple was taken away, and the substrata removed, until the natural surface of the rock was reached, when, to their great joy, and beyond their most ardent hopes,¹ the very Sepulchre came to light. The emperor and his coadjutors might certainly be mistaken; but as the Sepulchre was known to be under the Temple of Venus, the area to be explored was very small, and it is not likely that more than one tomb would answer the description, more particularly as the Sepulchre, from the notices of it in Scripture, had some remarkable and characteristic features.

It is highly probable, from the repeated destruction of the churches over it, that no part of the Sepulchre itself now remains; but the devastation in every case was merely temporary, and the original form of the Sepulchre would naturally be preserved throughout, and if we look to the general character of a Jewish tomb at that period, or to the notices respecting it contained in the New Testament, we shall find the present Sepulchre in every way to correspond.

From the multiplicity of ancient tombs still existing in and about Jerusalem, we are enabled to sketch their ordinary features with great accuracy. 'A doorway in the perpendicular face of the rock,' says Robinson,

¹ Euseb. Vit. Const. iii. 30.

‘usually small and without ornament, leads to one or more chambers excavated from the rock, and commonly upon the *same level with the door*. In order to obtain a perpendicular face for the doorway, advantage was sometimes taken of a former quarry, or an *angle* was cut in the rock with a tomb in each face, or a *square* niche or area was hewn out of the rock, and then tombs excavated in all three sides.’¹ ‘The Jewish sepulchre,’ says Barclay, ‘was a small room excavated in the solid rock, and provided with several receptacles for the dead. They were occasionally provided with an ante-room, and were *susceptible of unlimited enlargement* by adding room to room in the rear, or at the sides, or below. . . . The position of the door in reference to the room was *very irregular*, the workmen having evidently paid more regard to the grain and flaws of the rock than to the symmetry of the room.’² The door, usually square, was too low to admit a person standing,³ and was about three feet, more or less, each way.⁴ After passing the door was a small sepulchral chamber (sometimes, but not commonly, preceded by an ante-room), and this chamber was not itself the receptacle for the dead, but gave access to the loculi or niches in which they were deposited. There were two very different modes of arranging these loculi. In one they branched off perpendicularly from the sides of the chamber, as in Fig. 1 over leaf. In the other case the loculi were shallow and hewn out of the sides of the sepulchre, on each side one, and were parallel to the sides, while opposite the door was a smaller niche, as if for the body of a child or for a lamp, as in Fig. 2. The circumstances which would regulate the adoption

¹ Rob. i. 352.

² Barclay, 181.

³ Schultz, 97.

⁴ See Holy City, ii. 144.

of the one or the other mode are obvious. The former admitted of the larger number of loculi, and was accommodated to a family, while the latter form of tomb could receive only two or three. The difference of expense would thus be considerable, and according to Schultz the former plan was that commonly in use amongst the poorer, and the latter amongst the wealthier, class.¹

Fig. 1.

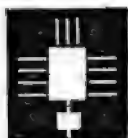


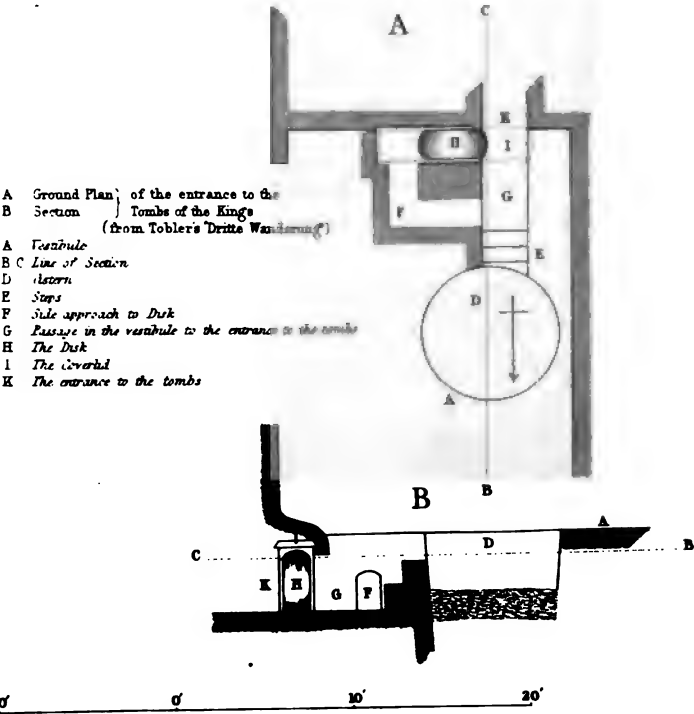
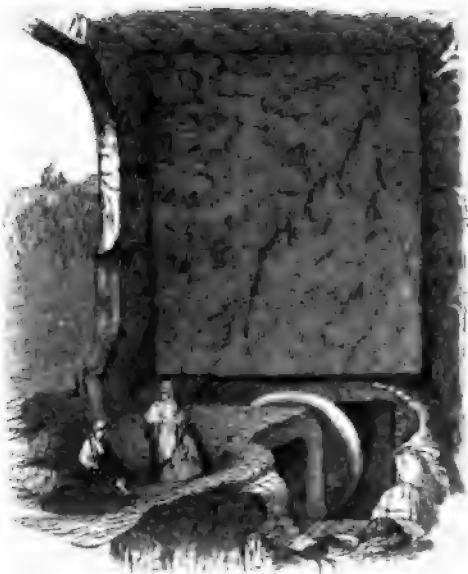
Fig. 2.



The entrances to the sepulchral chambers were closed by stone doors, which sometimes swung on stone hinges, and were sometimes detached so as to be taken off or fastened on as occasion required. But about the time of our Lord's crucifixion there prevailed another and very singular mode of securing the door, viz. by a thick circular stone, like a heavy millstone, which moved along a groove cut laterally in front of the sepulchre; and which, when the tomb was to be closed, was rolled sideways to the mouth of the sepulchre, and, when admission was wanted, was rolled back. Fortunately, in the Tombs of Helena, or, as they are now called, the Tombs of the Kings, we have a remarkably well preserved specimen of this machinery; and by inspecting the annexed ground-plan and section taken from Tobler, and the view of the approach from Barclay, the reader cannot fail to perfectly understand the whole scheme. The trouble of following the details will be repaid by the light they throw on the New Testament.

¹ Schultz, 98

VIEW OF ENTRANCE TO THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS.
 (from Barclays "City of the Great King")



- A Ground Plan of the entrance to the Tombs of the Kings
- B Section of the entrance to the Tombs of the Kings
- (from Tobler's "Dritte Wanderung")
- A Vestibule
- B C Line of Section
- D Altern
- E Steps
- F Side approach to Dusk
- G Passage in the vestibule to the entrance to the tombs
- H The Dusk
- I The Covered
- K The entrance to the tombs

The only other circumstance which we shall notice respecting the Jewish tombs is that in front of the doorway was commonly excavated a square open court, which was levelled, and, as we may presume, planted with funereal shrubs. There are traces of this to be found in the most ancient times, even under the Jewish monarchy. Thus Uzziah, being a leper, was not buried 'with his fathers,' but 'in the field of the burial of the kings,'¹ and by 'the field' is not improbably meant the open plat in front of the sepulchre; so when it is said that Manasseh and Amon were buried in the garden of Uzza,² it is not unlikely that the sepulchral garden is intended. At what is called the Grotto of Jeremiah, the site of an ancient burial-place, the area in front is 90 feet square, and is still cultivated as a garden,³ and at the Tombs of Helena, or of the Kings, the court is nearly a square, being 92½ feet by 87 feet,⁴ and also planted with shrubs;⁵ and numerous other instances might be mentioned. There is usually in these courts, in front of the sepulchre, a cistern, the use of which was probably to water the plants in this little cemetery.

Let us now pass in review the few scattered notices in the New Testament illustrative of our Lord's Sepulchre.

1. In the first place the tomb is said to have been hewn out of the rock.⁶ This, at Jerusalem, would be matter of course, and affords but little light: it would

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi. 23.

² 2 Kings xxi. 18, 26.

³ Barclay, 191. Tobl. Top. ii. 193.

⁴ Rob. i. 357.

⁵ See a view of this court in front of the tomb, in Bartlett's Jerus. 127.

⁶ λελατομημένον ἐκ τῆς πέτρας. — Mark xv. 46. Matt. xxvii. 60. Luke xxiii. 53.

not even indicate whether the tomb was excavated downward, as with the graves of the present day, or laterally, as was the custom of the Jews. But there are several other circumstances which leave no doubt upon this point; for,

2. When Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus, members of the Sanhedrim, who, by their influence with Pilate, obtained possession of the body of Jesus, had swathed it in fine linen, with myrrh and aloes, and deposited it in the tomb, they *rolled a great stone* to the mouth of the Sepulchre.¹ And again, when the two Marys, viz. Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of James and Joses, went with spices at the first dawn after the sabbath to anoint the body of Jesus, they said to one another by the way, ‘Who shall *roll us away* the stone from the door of the sepulchre? And when they looked, they saw that the stone was *rolled away*: for it was very great.’² ‘For the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and *rolled back* the stone from the door, and *sat upon it*.’³ Here then we learn that the excavation of the tomb was lateral, for the mouth of it was closed by the same curious machinery as is still seen in the Tombs of the Kings, viz. by a circular stone moving along a groove in front of the tomb, and wheeled backwards and forwards, but not without great exertion. It is also to be remarked that the angel sat on the stone, and therefore it did not swing upon hinges, for had it been a stone detached from the Sepulchre, it would, when removed, have lain flat on the ground; but being a rolling stone, and preserving its upright position, it formed a natural seat for one guarding the mouth of the Sepulchre.

¹ Matt. xxvii. 60. Mark xv. 46.

² Mark xvi. 3. Luke xxiv. 2.

³ Matt. xxviii. 2.

3. When, on the announcement by Mary Magdalene that the Lord had risen, Peter and John ran together to the Sepulchre, John, much the younger in age, outran Peter and came first to the Sepulchre, and ‘he *stooping* down and looking in saw the linen clothes lying;’¹ and afterwards when Mary Magdalene came the second time to the Sepulchre, she ‘looked *stooping* into the sepulchre.’² The Greek word in the original is very expressive, for it signifies to stoop down one way and to look another. Peter and Mary, therefore, standing by the side of the door, bent down, and then turned their heads towards the mouth of the Sepulchre so as to look into it. Thus the tomb was obviously hewn laterally into the rock, and the doorway, as usual, was a low one, so that even a woman could not look into it standing.

4. When the two Marys came first to the Sepulchre and saw the angel sitting on the stone at the door, they were led by him into the tomb itself, ‘Come, see the place where the Lord lay,’³ ‘and entering into the sepulchre they saw a young man sitting on the *right* side;’⁴ and when Peter and John ran together to the Sepulchre, John, without entering in, but stooping down and looking into the Sepulchre, saw the linen clothes lying, but Peter, on coming up, went in and saw not only the linen clothes, but also ‘the napkin that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself;’⁵ and when Mary Magdalene afterwards returned by herself to weep at the Sepulchre, she stooped down, and looking into the Sepulchre saw ‘two angels in white sitting, *the one at the head and the other at the feet*, where the body

¹ παρακύψας βλέπει κείμενα τὰ ὀθόνια. — John xx. 5.

² παρέκυνθεν εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον. — John xx. 11.

³ Matt. xxviii. 6.

⁴ Mark xvi. 5.

⁵ John xx. 7.

of Jesus had lain.'¹ Now these passages point clearly to the nature of the Sepulchre. As John at the mouth of the Sepulchre saw only the linen clothes, but Peter on entering in saw the head-gear also folded in a place by itself, we may infer that within the door was a sepulchral chamber of larger dimensions, the full view of which could not be commanded from the entrance. But observe further that Mary Magdalene saw two angels sitting, one at the head and the other at the foot of the niche in which our Lord's body had been deposited. It is clear then that in this tomb the loculus had not been excavated at right angles to the side of the Sepulchre, but parallel to it; for in the former case no one could have sat upon the loculus, but in the latter case it would be a kind of bench on which two persons would sit naturally one at the head and the other at the foot. Another circumstance to be noted is that Mary Magdalene, on her first arrival at the tomb, saw the young man sitting on the *right side* of the sepulchre; that is, the loculus in which the body of our Lord had been placed was, as you entered the sepulchral chamber, on the right hand.

5. In the next place the Sepulchre is said to have stood in a garden;² and as the tomb was not only nigh to the place of crucifixion, but is expressly said to have been *in the place of the crucifixion*,³ and as it is very unlikely that a pleasure-garden should have been formed at a scene of public executions, we may surmise that by the garden in question nothing more is meant than the open court or area commonly excavated in front of a sepulchre, and planted with funereal shrubs. When

¹ John xx. 12.

² John xix. 41.

³ ἦν δὲ ἐν τῇ τόπῳ, ὅπου ἐσταυρώθη, κήπος . . . ἐγγὺς ἦν τὸ μνημεῖον. — John xix. 41, 42.

Mary Magdalene was addressed by our Lord after His resurrection, she, without looking up, supposed Him to be the *gardener*,¹ which gives one the idea of one who cultivated the garden; but the word, in the original, signifies the person who had the watch and ward of the garden, viz. for preventing injury to the Sepulchre.

How far, then, does the present Holy Sepulchre correspond with the character of an ancient Jewish tomb, or with the particulars which we have passed in review concerning the Sepulchre of our Lord? We must remark, *in limine*, that a resemblance only in the nature of the ground and in the general outline can be expected. For, first of all, when the temple of Venus was erected on the spot, the Sepulchre can scarcely have escaped injury; and again, in A.D. 614, when Jerusalem was taken by the Persians under Chosroes II., the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was burnt with fire;² and again, about A.D. 1010, when that visionary fanatic, the Fatimite Khalif Hakim, razed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to its foundations, he wreaked his fury upon the Holy Sepulchre itself.³ If therefore, the Sepulchre were presented to us unscathed, the very integrity of it would be an argument against its genuineness. What, then, in few words, is its present state?

1. You enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre on the south, and the Rotunda is on the left hand, or west. In the centre of the Rotunda is a small isolated oblong chapel, 26 feet long and 18 broad, square at the eastern end, and polygonal at the western, containing the Sepulchre itself. The access is at the eastern end of the chapel, and first is a small ante-room, the Chapel of the Angel,⁴ which is confessedly no part of the original

¹ κηπουρός. — *John* xx. 15. ² *Rob.* i. 387. ³ *Rob.* i. 395.

⁴ See view of the Sepulchral Chapel, from the south-east, in

Sepulchre, but the creation of some architect for the sake of effect. From the ante-room, a low narrow door conducts into a quadrangular chamber, having a wall close at hand on the left, and an open space, just room enough for standing, in front; and on the right a kind of altar, 2 feet 10 inches high, occupying more than half of the whole chamber, and encasing the sepulchral couch where the body of our Lord was laid. The dimensions of the whole chamber are 6 feet 8 inches in length, 6 feet 1 inch in width, and 8 feet 6 inches in height. It is nearly square, but not exactly so, the north-east and north-west angles being slightly acute, and the south-east and south-west angles slightly the reverse. The surface of the chamber is so covered with decoration and begrimed with the smoke of the lamps which are continually kept burning, that no one can tell whether the material be rock, or plaster, or marble, though formerly the rocky surface was said to be observable about the door of the Sepulchre.¹ The situation of the Sepulchre is just on the ridge of the rocky hill coming down from the north-west in the direction of the Haram. On the west of the church the rock rises to the height of the gallery, which was originally entered from the street, and at the east end of the church is a flight of forty steps. In the natural state of the ground, therefore, the Sepulchre in the centre of the Rotunda must have been cut in the rock; and not far from it, at the extreme west end of the same church, is another ancient tomb, that of Nicodemus, which is unquestionably excavated from the rock. The latter tomb has been referred by some to the times of the Crusaders, because

Bartlett's *Jerus.* 174; Vogüé, 124; Barclay, 234; and view of the Sepulchre itself, through the ante-room and door from the east, in Bartlett's *Jerus.* 175; Barclay, 235.

¹ See *Holy City*, ii. 160.

on the floor are two graves sunk perpendicularly;¹ but Schultz justly remarks that, while these two graves are comparatively modern, the antiquity of the two loculi which have been cut in the rock laterally, and run out horizontally, cannot with reason be doubted.² The tomb of Nicodemus cannot, of course, be that of Christ, as there is no *loculus* at the side parallel to the chamber.

2. Did the present Sepulchre stand in a garden? We have suggested that by a garden was meant the open court or area usually excavated in front of a sepulchre; and, if so, we may infer, with great probability, that just such a quadrangular space once stood before—that is, to the east of—the Holy Sepulchre, for the church is built, not upon the natural surface, but in a hollow excavated on the south, west, and north sides from the rock. Constantine, when he erected the edifice, may have formed this area; but there is no statement that he did so, but only that the lower side aisles of the church were built below the surface of the surrounding ground. Singularly enough, a tradition can be traced as far back as the fourth century, that the Basilica was built on the site of the garden attached to our Lord's Sepulchre;³ and, if the garden be understood in the sense which has been suggested, this must have been the case, as, from the slope of the ground, the court or square in front of the tomb must have been hollowed out and levelled on the east.

3. From the account of the New Testament, the real Sepulchre was entered upon a level. There was no

¹ Rob. iii. 180.

² Schultz, 97. See a ground-plan of this sepulchre in *Tobl. Dritte Wand.* 273.

³ Rob. i. 376.

going down into a subterranean recess, and no going up to a tomb cut high in the face of the rock, but the expressions are, they went in,¹ or they went out;² and, accordingly, the present Sepulchre is approached upon a level, and not, like the tomb of Nicodemus, by a descent under ground.

4. The Sepulchre answers, not only to the Jewish fashion in having a sepulchral chamber, but also to the particular feature to be collected concerning our Lord's tomb, that the niche or couch in which the body of our Lord was laid was not a *loculus* at right angles to the side of the Sepulchre, but parallel to it, so as to form a bench or seat when the body was removed. And this niche or couch is referred to in the New Testament as on the *right hand* upon entering the tomb; and so in the present Sepulchre, immediately on passing the door, the altar or sarcophagus representing the place of the couch or niche is on the *right*.

5. It may seem, *primâ facie*, an objection to the genuineness of the Holy Sepulchre, that while there is a *loculus* on the right hand, or north side, there is no corresponding *loculus* on the left hand, or south side. But it will be recollected that the Jews did not construct their sepulchres as we do our vaults, by completing the whole at once. A sepulchre with them was commenced by the excavation of a chamber and one *loculus* or more as the immediate occasion required; afterwards other *loculi* were formed as they were wanted, and often, when there was no more room for additional *loculi*, a new chamber was opened in front or on the side, or even below. What, then, is the Scrip-

¹ Mark xvi. 5. Luke xxiv. 3. John xx. 6, 8.

² Matt. xxviii. 8. Mark xvi. 8.

tural account of our Lord's burial? That 'a rich man of Arimathea, named Joseph, . . . laid it [the body of Jesus] in *his own new tomb*, which he had hewn out of the rock,'¹ or, as it is literally, 'in the new tomb of himself,' as if it had been prepared for the interment of himself only, and therefore contained but one *loculus*. The absence of a niche on the left side of the Sepulchre, instead of being an objection, is thus, when duly considered, an argument for the genuineness of the Sepulchre.

We have only to add that the low square entrance into the tomb, and the circular stone rolling in a groove to open or shut the mouth of the Sepulchre, have long since disappeared. But for many centuries the rolling stone, or at least the form of it, was preserved, for Antoninus Placentinus speaks of the stone in his time as a millstone, i.e. of a circular shape, as the original must have been.²

We now close this lengthened discussion with the following conclusions as the result:—

1. From *a priori* considerations, we should look for the Sepulchre of our Lord in the quarter of the city where we now find it.
2. The Sepulchre, as now exhibited, is certainly identical with that over which Constantine erected his church.
3. The present Sepulchre, whether it retain or not any fragment of the original tomb, marks at least the spot where the body of our Lord was laid.

¹ Matt. xxvii. 57, 60.

² *Petra vero monumenti velut molaris est.* — *Anton. Placent.*

We now hasten on to the investigation of the *third* wall, the course of which is thus described by Josephus: 'The commencement of the third wall was the tower *Hippicus*, whence stretching as far as the northern quarter to the tower *Psephinus*, then reaching over against the *Tombs of Helena*, Queen of Adiabene, and mother of King Izates, and running along across the *Royal Caverns*, it turned with a corner tower at what is called the *Fuller's Monument*, and ended by joining the old ambit at the so-called *Cedron ravine*.'¹

Various have been the opinions upon the direction of this wall. Some carry it far away north along the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, by the Tombs of the Kings, which they identify with the Royal Caverns; others draw it across the swell of ground on the north of the city, about half-way between the Damascus Gate and the Tombs of the Kings; others, and we think correctly, identify it with the present north wall of the city. Let us endeavour first, if we can, to trace the wall itself from existing remains. This will be the best evidence; and, if we can satisfy ourselves that the course of the wall can thus be followed, the notices in Josephus must either be reconciled with the result or rejected as erroneous.

It is admitted on all hands that before the erection of the third wall by Agrippa the Temple Platform lay exposed on the north, that is, was not covered by the city wall. If, therefore, we find a Jewish wall running northward along the brink of the Valley of Jehoshaphat from the north-east corner of the Haram, we may conclude with moral certainty that it is the wall of Agrippa. Now, between the north-east corner of the

¹ Bell. v. 4, 2.

Haram and the north-east corner of the *city*, are five towers,¹ and at the third tower from the *Haram* are bevelled stones, six and seven feet long, resting on the rock itself, and which apparently have never been disturbed; and between the third and fourth towers commences a trench excavated in the rock, and running up to the north-east corner of the city.² Can it be doubted that here are the vestiges of Agrippa's wall? The size and bevelling of the stones, and the accompanying fosse, all point to this conclusion. On arriving at the north-east corner of the city, we stop and ask, Did the wall here continue northward or turn westward? From a strong desire to give the largest dimensions to the ancient city, travellers have examined over and over again the ground to the north of the present city wall, in the hope of tracking Agrippa's wall in that direction; but no one pretends to have found there any token of a wall, much less of one of bevelled stones with a fosse.³ As the *whole* of the third wall was admirable for its strength,⁴ can it be supposed that, if the wall ran northward beyond the present limits, both foundations and trench should so utterly have disappeared as not to have left, by some accident, a single remnant behind?

Let us now try back and see if Agrippa's wall turned at the north-east corner with the present city wall, to the west. We have already observed that along the eastern side a trench runs at the foot of the wall from the third tower to the corner. On reaching the corner, the trench still cut in the rock deflects with the wall to

¹ Tobl. i. 66.

² Tobl. i. 58, 53.

³ Tobl. i. 118, 122. Rob. i. 315; iii. 188.

⁴ θαυμασίον δὲ ὄντος ὅλου τοῦ τρίτου τείχους. — *Bell.* v. 4, 3.

the west ; and, as the trench is probably coeval with the original wall, a strong inference arises that the wall of Agrippa here also turned westward, more particularly as the fosse is not continued northward. Not only so, but, according to Josephus, at the north-east corner of the wall was a tower, and at the north-east corner of the present wall are the remains of an ancient tower, the most colossal after those at the north-west corner of the city.¹

From the north-east corner to Herod's Gate are three towers, and between the second and third from the corner are ancient bevelled stones, but not such as in the opinion of Tobler are necessarily referable to the age of Agrippa. But at the second tower from Herod's Gate, that is, to the east of it, are stones more than eight feet long and bevelled, and of unquestionable antiquity.²

Herod's Gate itself does not appear to present any ancient remains, though, as it is situate in a depression between Bezetha hill on the west and a corresponding rise on the east, there was probably always a portal at this point.

From Herod's Gate to Damascus Gate are now five towers, and along this reach at least three ancient towers have been traced : one at fifty steps east of Damascus Gate ; a second more to the east still, where the wall makes a slight bend ; and the third between that and Herod's Gate, at a hundred steps west of the latter, where the beautiful capital of an ancient column has been wrought into the wall.³ Not only so, but, at the

¹ Krafft, 47.

² Tobl. i. 59. Krafft (46) also speaks of remains of a great tower, a hundred and twenty-five steps from the north-east corner.

³ Krafft, 46. The last remains are said to consist of 'colossale

foot of the wall in which these remains are found, a deep fosse excavated in the rock has been carried from the Damascus Gate eastward to the point where Bezetha hill attains its greatest height, and there a lofty escarpment of the rock renders any fosse unnecessary.¹ Bezetha and the hill on the north, under which is now the Grotto of Jeremiah, were originally one unbroken ridge; but the space between the grotto and the city wall has been cut away by quarrying through successive centuries, and the line of the wall now stands on the northern brow of the hill of Bezetha,² and the rock at the summit has a perpendicular fall of great depth, which thus answers all the purposes of a trench. Krafft suggests that the fosse was commenced by Agrippa, and left unfinished at the crown of Bezetha on receipt of an interdict from Claudius against the further prosecution of the work;³ but the real explanation is, that the fosse ends where the natural defence begins.⁴

We come next to the Damascus Gate; and here are most unquestionable remains of an ancient wall. As you enter the gate there stands on the left or east side 'a square dark room adjacent to the wall, the sides of which are entirely composed of stones having precisely the character of those still seen at the corners of the Temple area—large, bevelled, with the whole surface hewn smooth. Connected with this room on its west side is a winding staircase leading to the top of the wall, the sides of which are of the same

quadrosubstructionen, but the two former '*aus festern Kittgemäuer.*'

¹ See view of the excavation along the north wall, Traill's *Josephus*, i. 105.

² Rob. i. 266; iii. 190.

³ Krafft, 45.

⁴ Rob. iii. 191.

character.¹ These foundations are in the same line with the wall which we have followed all along from the north-east corner of the Temple area, and therefore presumptively formed part of the third wall.²

On the west side of the gate are the remains of another corresponding ancient tower. The existence of it has been questioned by travellers,³ but there can be no doubt of the fact, and I have examined the remains myself. Here, as on the east side of the Damascus Gate, is a guard-chamber of large bevelled stones hewn smooth, and 'at the bottom of the half archway, on the extreme right, appears the *under side* of a flight of steps, cut off at the third step, and belonging, as it seems, to the ancient, not to the modern, portion of the building.'⁴ 'Of these stones,' says Robinson, 'one measured $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, and another $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet long by a like height. Some of them are much disintegrated and decayed, but they all seem to be lying in their original places, as if they had never been disturbed or moved from the spot where they were first fitted to each other.'⁵ Tobler, in his Third Journey, furnishes a ground-plan of

¹ Rob. i. 313.

² The antiquity of the gate will be at once recognised from an examination of the plates of it in Bartlett's *Jerus. Rev.* 187; Barclay, 132; and see ground-plan in Tobl. *Dritte Wand.* 340.

³ For the negative see Tobl. *Dritte Wand.* 340; Rob. i. 313: for the affirmative see Krafft, 42; Traill's *Josephus*, xlviii.; Tobl. *Top.* i. 58; Murray's *Handbook for Syria*, p. 109. In Traill's *Jos.* xlvii. the tower is placed '100 yards,' to the west of the Damascus Gate, which is evidently a clerical mistake; for the writer immediately afterwards locates the spot 'at the distance of a *few paces* towards the west.'

⁴ Traill's *Jos.* xlvi.

⁵ Rob. i. 313. An accurate view of these interesting remains will be found in Traill's *Josephus*, p. xlviii.

the tower in which this ancient masonry is found, and adds that it must have stood north-west and south-east, i. e. in a wall having the same direction as the present northern wall.¹

Having thus brought the third wall to the Damascus Gate, we shall here break off for the present, and endeavour to trace the third wall from the other end, its *western* commencement at the tower of Hippicus.

All are agreed that from Hippicus, now the castle of David, at the Jaffa Gate, the third wall ran in a north-west direction, as far at least as the north-west corner of the present city. A fosse which runs along the exterior indicates the general direction.² It would seem, however, that the third wall did not, along this part, pursue the *exact* line of the present wall; for the remains called Kalah el Jalûd, or the Giant's Castle, at the north-west angle of the present city, which belong unquestionably to the third wall, do not stand *in* the present wall, but *within* it, at the distance of about twelve paces from it,³ and, as they lie north and south, are not even in the same direction with the present wall, which ranges south-east and north-west.⁴ The question is, whether the third wall, on arriving at the north-west corner of the present city, continued its course northward to the summit of the hill, or turned with the existing wall in an eastern direction. To exercise a judgment upon this controversy we must consider, first, the evidence of actual remains, so far as the wall can be traced, and secondly, the light to be gathered from the several statements of Josephus.

¹ Tobl. Dritte Wand. 340, 341.

² Tobl. Top. i. 67.

³ Tobl. Top. i. 71.

⁴ Tobl. Top. i. 68.

Let us first see whether, as some contend, the line of the wall can be followed up the hill beyond the present circuit of the city.

Robinson, in speaking of the high ground at the north-west of the city, observes : —

‘ On the east of the path [from the north-west corner to the Tombs of the Kings], about half-way between these tombs and the north-west corner of the city, we noticed foundations which belonged very distinctly to the third wall, consisting of large hewn blocks of stone of a character corresponding to other works of those ages. On the west of the path, and running up the hill in a line with the above, were other similar foundations ; and still further up were stones of the like kind, apparently displaced. By following the general direction of these, and of several scarped rocks which had apparently been the foundations of towers or the like, we succeeded in tracing the wall in zigzags in a westerly course for much of the way to the top of the high ground. Here are the evident substructions of towers or other fortifications, extending for some distance ; and from them to the north-west corner of the city the foundation of the ancient wall is very distinctly visible along the hard surface of the ground.’¹

The foundations of the wall are here said to be distinguishable from the corner of the city to the crown of the hill ; but, according to Robinson, from this culminating point eastward ‘ the intervening wall is not traceable ;’² but at the distance of 336 feet north 10° east he comes again to foundations ;³ and from the latter spot he suggests two different lines, and is doubt-

¹ Rob. i. 314 ; and see ib. 310. ² Rob. i. 315. ³ Rob. i. 315.

ful which is the true one.¹ Thus, at all events, on reaching the top of the hill, the course of the wall is lost, or is only matter of conjecture.

Tobler agrees with Robinson that the third wall extended north-west beyond the limits of the present city,² and in his third visit to Jerusalem expresses himself as retaining the same opinion.³ The results of Tobler's investigations are these:—

‘At the distance,’ he says, ‘of 300 paces from the north-west corner [of the present city] is, on an elevated platform 75 paces square, the ruin of some ancient structure, and in the middle is a large cistern.’⁴ [This, according to some, must have been the site of Psephinus. But there are two objections to it: first, the platform is certainly *square*,⁵ whereas Psephinus was as certainly *octagonal*; and, secondly, Josephus expressly tells us that the cisterns of the towers in Agrippa's wall were not at the bottom, but at the top of the towers.⁶ We may hazard the conjecture that this square area was the site of the mansion Villa Fullonis, from which the Porta Villæ Fullonis, at the north-west corner of the city, in the time of the Crusaders, took its name.] ‘At 140 paces further to the north-west,’ Tobler continues, ‘are ruins which may have belonged to towers; and then an earthwork runs east for 80 paces to the highest spot, which commands a fine view to the south-west.’⁷ From this crown of the hill, ruins, he says, at irregular intervals and in a zigzag direction, may be traced towards the north-east to a point to which a line drawn from the dome of the

¹ Rob. i. 315.

² Tobl. Dritte Wand. i. 341.

³ Tobl. i. 117. Krafft, 37.

⁷ Tobl. Top. i. 118.

² Tobl. Top. i. 124.

⁴ Tobl. i. 117.

⁶ Bell. v. 4, 3.

Holy Sepulchre would run N. 23° W.¹ Here all further vestiges entirely cease, though strict search has been repeatedly made both to the north and east.²

Schultz, another observer, considers the third wall as traceable to the summit of the high ground at the north-west corner of the city, and thinks that the octagonal form of the tower Psephinus may be still distinguished.³ He supposes also that the foundations of three small towers may be detected beyond this at intervals, and that the wall may be followed in a north-easterly direction across the path which leads to the Tombs of the Kings from the north-west corner of the city; and that the vestiges there cease, because Agrippa, when he had carried the wall thus far, received an interdict from Claudius against the further prosecution of the work.⁴

Bartlett, in speaking of the direction of the third wall, observes:—‘The vestiges of buildings, and occasional appearances as though the rock had been scraped for foundations, indicated beyond all doubt the general direction of this outer bulwark [the third wall] as far as an elevated point where stood the tower of Psephinus.’⁵ And again: ‘If we look at the high ridge just without the city wall on the north, beginning at a conspicuous terebinth tree at its north-west angle, we may trace the line of the third wall of the ancient city as far as a small Mohammedan tomb.’⁶

If these testimonies stood alone, we could scarcely escape the conviction that the third wall ran beyond the present circuit; but *audi alteram partem*.

Krafft informs us that he had repeatedly examined

¹ Tobl. Top. i. 118.

² Rob. i. 315. Tobl. Top. i. 118.

³ Schultz, 62.

⁴ Schultz, 63.

⁵ Bartlett's Jerus. Rev. 189.

⁶ Ibid. 122.

these alleged remains of a wall, and that they consisted of stones of no great size and unhewn, resting on the surface, without any systematic plan ; and that in short they could not have belonged to a regular fortification, but must mark the sites of private buildings.¹

Miss E. A. Beaufort, now Lady Strangford, was also, it is believed, unable to discover any vestiges of the third wall beyond the present circuit of the city.

To these statements I must now add my own testimony, that I have again and again paced over the ground where the third wall is supposed to have run, and could never discover the least sign of it. The only indications of building that I could meet with were such as probably belonged to a private mansion.²

But what is more important still, the Russians have recently, in laying the foundations for their new convent and church, excavated the very ground on which these remains of the third wall are represented as so plainly visible, and, somewhat to their surprise, have not come upon the least trace of any ancient bulwark. It would seem, therefore, that these vaunted ruins mark only the sites of suburban villas or temporary intrenchments, such as are mentioned in history in connection with this quarter. Josephus tells us that this very tract at the north-west of the city was dotted with houses and intersected by garden walls,³ and we read that Titus pitched his camp on this spot, and that the Roman intrenchments were surrounded by walls.⁴ No wonder, therefore, that the foundations of such edifices should here and there be still observable.

¹ Krafft, 37.

² See ante, pp. 131, 166.

³ ἐκτετάφρευτο γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους περὶ τὰς κηπείας ἅπαντα κήποις τε ἐπικαρσίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἔρκεσι διειλημμένα. — *Bell.* v. 2, 2.

⁴ τῶν ἐρυμάτων. — *Bell.* v. 6, 5.

Let us see whether we can follow the course of the third wall in the line of the existing wall. At the north-west corner of the present city stands Kalah el Jalûd, or the Giant's Castle; and if it can be identified with the Psephinus, the question is solved, for it is clear that Psephinus stood at the north-west corner of the city, and that the third wall there turned eastward. Josephus describes Psephinus as distinguishable from the other towers by being octagonal¹, and 'at the south-west corner of the mass (Kalah el Jalûd), near the ground, are three courses of large bevelled stones, rough-hewn, passing into the mass diagonally, in such a way as to show that they lay here before the tower and bastion were built;' ² and Krafft considered this as an irrefragable proof that the original ground-plan had been octagonal. At the same time that we assent to his conclusion, we must admit that these diagonal stones alone do not prove it. There are, however, several other arguments that lead to such a result. Josephus refers to Psephinus as the most imposing tower in all Jerusalem, and the remains of Kalah el Jalûd are certainly the most striking within the city, and are called for that reason the Giant's Castle. The two ancient flanking towers of the Damascus Gate had each *one* guard-chamber, but Kalah el Jalûd had certainly *two*, as evidenced by the old bevelled stones still seen in the interior,³ and, as only part of the building has been explored at present, it might have had even more. The name also of Psephinus, or the Rubble Tower, carries with it a significance. The foundations had been laid by Agrippa in A.D. 43, with stones carefully hewn and squared, but an interdict was put upon the

¹ Bell. v. 4, 3.

² 1 Rob. 318. 3 Rob. 193.

³ See ante, p. 209.

work from Rome, and it was not completed until a quarter of a century afterwards, in the time of the great rebellion, when the Jews made use in their haste of any materials that were nearest at hand, and as in this respect it formed a remarkable contrast to the regular and beautiful masonry of the opposite towers Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, it was called Psephinus, or the Rubble Tower. Now Kalah el Jalûd answers exactly to this description. The foundation stones are of great size and nicely laid, but all above is a patchwork. We may conclude at once that the upper part of the tower was built in the time of the Crusaders, but they no doubt employed the old materials, and the total absence of any large stones, except at the foundations, shows that the former fabric itself consisted of the inferior masonry called rubble. Felix Fabri, one of the oldest writers, speaks of Kalah el Jalûd as standing on the site of Psephinus, and, if so, the third wall turned at this point to the east, and did not extend further northward.

Next, can any indications of the third wall be found in the line between Kalah el Jalûd and the Damascus Gate?

To the east of the Giant's Castle, but still at the north-west angle of the city, and due north from the Latin convent, 'are the remains of a wall built of *large hewn and bevelled* stones, and near by are blocks so large that we at first, say Tipping and Walcott, took them to be the natural rock, but which, on closer examination, appear to be bevelled, though now dislocated.'¹

It is further noticed by Tipping and Walcott that

¹ Rob. iii. 219. Tobl. Top. i. 59.

‘an unusual proportion of stones between the north-west corner of the city and the Damascus Gate, as also of those used in the adjoining buildings, are ancient and bevelled, and we could hardly resist the impression that this had been nearly the course of some ancient wall.”¹

Again, at the fourth tower from the Damascus Gate (and there are five between the Damascus Gate and the corner), the rock outside the present city is scarped from west to east, with its face to the north, and a little to the north is a corresponding scarpment with its face to the south ; and hence the inference that a trench once ran near the foot of the present line of wall, and, if so, it must have belonged to Agrippa’s wall.²

If we advance further eastward, about half-way between the north-west corner and the Damascus Gate, there are without the city ‘several traces of old wall indicating a tower or angle, with tolerably large *bevelled* stones and a trench.’³ As we approach the Damascus Gate and at the distance of 300 feet from it, Dr. Wilson tells us that ‘the wall for some extent above its foundation bears, in the magnitude and peculiarity of its stones, the evidence of great antiquity ;’⁴ and on the west side of the Damascus Gate itself we have the old tower already described. We have thus a chain of evidence reaching all the way from the Jaffa Gate to the Damascus Gate ; and it will be borne in mind that, if the several ruins which we have passed in review indicate the course of an ancient wall at all, they can only be

¹ Rob. iii. 219. See Wilson, i. 421. Rob. i. 318 ; iii. 188. Tobl. Top. i. 59, 121.

² See 1 Rob. 318. 3 Rob. 188, 219.

³ Rob. iii. 188.

⁴ Lands of the Bible, vol. i. p. 421: 3 Rob. 219.

ascribed to the third wall, for it is manifest from Josephus that between the western limb of the second wall and that of the third wall was a wide open area sufficient for an encampment, so that at all events the remains at the north of the Latin convent, and the bevelled stones half-way between the north-west corner and the Damascus Gate, cannot occupy the line of the *second* wall.

We now proceed to a review of the scattered passages in the works of Josephus which may be thought to throw any light upon this difficult subject.

1. In the first place, the historian reckons the circuit of the whole city at 33 stades.¹ We shall show presently that this statement is not to be received with implicit credence, but assuming, for the moment, that the fact was so, let us see how far it tallies with our hypothesis. The circumference, as we have drawn the walls, amounts to about 28 stades, being half a mile short of Josephus's computation: but then we have made the first wall cross the Tyropœon Valley at a very little distance above Siloam, whereas, while it is certain that the wall here made a bend, it is mere conjecture at what point it crossed the Tyropœon Valley; and if we suppose it to have crossed higher up, in the line of the present wall, we shall find the whole circuit amount to 33 stades. Even, therefore, if we admit the assertion of Josephus without question, it would not prove that the ancient city extended on the north beyond the present limits. I think, however, there are sufficient grounds for suspecting the accuracy of the historian as to the extent of the walls. Was he writing at Rome to the best of his recollection, or was he speaking from actual measurement? By his own

¹ Bell. v. 4, 3.

showing, he has committed the grossest mistakes in his particulars of the walls, and though he may not have intended to mislead, he is certainly chargeable with an extreme degree of carelessness. In the very same chapter and the same section that he lays down the circuit of the walls as 33 stades, he adds that the third, or Agrippa's wall, had 90 towers, with an interval of 300 feet from tower to tower!¹ At this rate, we have for the third wall alone 45 stades, while the circuit of the whole city had been represented as only 33 stades! Again, the first wall and third wall made up the whole circumference of the city, and the first wall had 60 towers, and the third 90 towers, together 150. As the first wall was defended by deep ravines on all sides, it would not require so many towers as the third wall, where the city was much more exposed. Admitting, however, that there was no difference in this respect, and that the intervals between the towers in the third wall were as great as in the first wall, let us see what this would be: 33 stades would yield 19,800 feet, which, divided by the 150 towers, would give 132 feet as the distance from the centre of one tower to the centre of the next. How, then, if we suppose the whole circuit to have been 33 stades, can we credit the further assertion, that the interval between the towers in the third wall was 300 feet? Wherever we can test the measurements of Josephus, we find the same laxity of expression. Thus he describes the tower Phasaelus as 60 feet square. The tower itself still remains, and measures 56 ft. 4 in. on one side, and 70 ft. 3 in. on the other.² There is here no great diversity, but it shows that Josephus's computations were not from actual measurement. Again, the

¹ Bell. v. 4, 4.

² 1 Rob. B. R. 43.

historian speaks of the stones of Phasaelus as 30 feet long and 15 feet wide,¹ but there is not a single stone in all the pile of one half those dimensions. In the same spirit he describes the harbour constructed by Herod at Cæsarea as equal in extent to the Piræus;² 'but,' observes a recent traveller, 'Josephus says so, not I . . . Who can read of the mole 200 feet broad, built of stones more than 50 feet long 18 wide and 9 deep without a smile? Why the whole harbour enclosed by it is not much broader.'³

The argument founded on Josephus's statement, that the circuit was 33 stades, is, that the third wall must therefore have run considerably to the north of the present wall. But to this we may reply, that there are other statements in the same Josephus which preclude this supposition. Thus Titus first encamped on Scopus, the hill just one mile to the north of the city, and divided from it by the intervening Valley of Jehoshaphat. He afterwards crossed the valley and encamped on the platform between the valley and the city, and, though the camp itself must have occupied no little space, for the 12th and 15th legions were combined together, he was still at the distance of two stades from the wall.⁴ Again, on one occasion the Jews sallied from a gate in the northern wall, and pursued the Romans all the way to the Tombs of Helena, now the Tombs of the Kings,⁵ and it is evident from the narrative that the interval from the gate to the tombs was not a trifling one; not only so, but Josephus informs us expressly that these

¹ Bell. v. 4, 4.

² Ant. xv. 9, 6.

³ The Land and the Book, pp. 494, 495.

⁴ αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν Τίτος ἀπέχων ὅσον εἰς σταδίους δύο τοῦ τείχους . . . στρατοπεδεύεται. — Bell. v. 4, 4.

⁵ Bell. v. 3, 3.

tombs lay at the distance of three stades from the walls.¹ How, then, could the northern wall of that day have taken a line to the north of the existing wall? Upon the whole, we cannot rely on these 33 stades as an actual survey, but must regard it only as an approximation from memory. At the same time, the present measured distance, as we have drawn the walls, comes within half a mile of this distance, and if the first wall ran a good way up the Tyropœon Valley and down again, the whole circuit might have amounted even to 33 stades.

2. When Titus had taken the first wall he encamped with a part of his force at the north-west of the city, between the second and third walls; and if the third wall ran, as we have supposed, in the line of the present wall, there would be sufficient space between the third and the second wall for the encampment, and the distance from the second wall would also be such that the missiles of the Jews would occasion no annoyance;² more particularly as the Jews were not possessed of the powerful engines of the Romans, and were very unskilful in the use of those they had.³ At the same time the camp of Titus was not very far from the second wall, for he extended his line all the way from the Assyrian camp, which lay at the north-west corner of the city, to the Cedron Valley, which lay on the east,⁴ in order, apparently, that they might thus be removed as far as possible from the reach of the besieged. When the Jews also made a sally from the High Town, at the High-Priest's monument by the Pool of Hezekiah, they drove the Romans before them as far as their camp,⁵ which must have been not far

¹ Ant. xx. 4, 3.

² Bell. v. 7, 3.

³ Bell. v. 6, 3.

⁴ ἐπισχῶν πᾶν τὸ μεταξὺ μέχρι Κεδρῶνος. — Bell. v. 7, 3.

⁵ The Romans retired ἐπὶ τὰ σπράττοεδα, and the Jews followed

removed from the wall of the High Town, or the Jews would not have ventured so far in the presence of a superior force, one division of which lay on their left flank opposite Hippicus.

3. The third wall is said, after turning east, to have run over against the Tombs of Helena.¹ We agree with Robinson² in identifying the Tombs of Helena with the present Tombs of the Kings,³ and the arguments which we consider conclusive are briefly these:—

a. Jerome, in describing the journey of Paula from Lydda to Jerusalem, makes her pass by Gibeah and then enter Jerusalem, leaving the mausoleum of Helena on the left hand.⁴ Now Gibeah of Saul has been proved to be Tuleil-el-Fûl, a little way from Jerusalem on the east of the great northern road; Paula, therefore, must have approached Jerusalem by this road, which, from the nature of the ground, must always have taken the same line, and, if so, the Tombs of the Kings would be on her left hand.⁵

b. Pausanias, in an exaggerated and legendary style, describes the mausoleum of Helena as remarkable for its doorway, which was opened and closed by a curious mechanical contrivance,⁶ and accordingly in the Tombs of the Kings we find the entrance from the vestibule into the sepulchral chambers answering to this account: that is to say, in a groove at the side is a disc of stone,

μέχρι τῶν ἐρυμάτων, when the Romans applied engines from the wall of the camp, *ἐπὶ τοῦ τεύχους*. — *Bell.* v. 11, 5.

¹ *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

² *Rob.* iii. 251.

³ See views and plans of these tombs in Barclay, 194. Bartlett's *Jerus.* 129.

⁴ 'In Gabaa urbe usque ad solum dirutâ paululum substitit . . . Ad lævam Mausoleo Helenæ derelicto . . . ingressa est Jerusolymam urbem.' — *Hieron. Epitaph. Paulæ.*

⁵ *Rob.* iii. 252.

⁶ *Pausan.* viii. 16.

which is rolled backward to afford admission, and rolled forward for closing the passage.

c. Josephus mentions that Helena was buried in the pyramids,¹ and hence it has been objected that the tomb must have been, not a sepulchre excavated in the rock, but an erection upon the surface; but as Helena's remains could not have been deposited in more than one place, the description can only apply to a single sepulchre, and indeed Eusebius speaks of these pyramids as *στῆλαι* or *cippi*,² that is, pillars in the pyramidal form. We learn from Josephus the exact number of the pyramids, viz. three,³ and when we examine the Tombs of the Kings we see at once the explanation. The vestibule of the sepulchre, the part which is so familiar to every eye, was formerly supported by two columns now broken away, and was thus divided into three compartments, and no doubt these three *cippi* or pyramids stood by the side of each other over these three portals. If anyone will look at the architectural remains of Petra, which are of the same age with the Tombs of Helena, he will be satisfied what is meant by Josephus, as over the rock sepulchres of Petra these pyramids surmounting the entrance are of frequent occurrence.

d. It has been objected that in the Tombs of the Kings are numerous chambers for the dead (say thirty-eight),⁴ which cannot therefore be referred to the sepulchre of Queen Helena alone, but must be the vaults of the kings of Judah. But observe that Josephus does not speak of the *tomb* but of the *tombs* of Helena,⁵ that is, the mausoleum of the royal family of Adiabene; for it must be remembered that not only Helena but also

¹ Ant. xx. 4, 3.

² H. E. ii. 12.

³ Ant. xx. 4, 3.

⁴ Tobl. Top. ii. 295.

⁵ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων. — Bell. v. 4, 2; v. 2, 2.

her kindred were resident at Jerusalem, and how prolific the race was we may judge from the fact, that Izates, son of Queen Helena, had twenty-four sons and twenty-four daughters,¹ not to mention that Monobazus, the brother of Izates, had a palace at Jerusalem,² and that other relatives of Queen Helena are also alluded to,³ one of whom, Grapte, had likewise a palace at Jerusalem.⁴

e. Lastly, it is clear that these tombs are not those of the kings of Judah, for they are in a debased style of Roman architecture which belongs to the reign of Augustus, but cannot be assigned to any earlier period.⁵

In all the topography of the Holy City not any one point can be more relied upon, as an established fact, than the identity of the Tombs of Helena with the Tombs of the Kings; and the statement of Josephus, that the third wall in its direction eastward passed over against the Tombs of Helena, is in strict accordance with the fact, as the road leads directly down to the Damascus Gate.

4. Josephus relates that Titus, on arriving at Jerusalem, and wishing to reconnoitre the city, rode with a body-guard of cavalry along the north road, and then turned to the west towards Psephinus; that so long as he kept to the highway no enemy was to be seen, but that on his wheeling to the right towards Psephinus, the Jews sallied out from the Women's Towers, which were over against the Tombs of the Kings, and, breaking through the body-guard, isolated Titus with a few followers.⁶ These Women's Towers were the two

¹ Ant. xx. 4, 3.

² Bell. v. 6, 1.

³ Bell. vi. 6, 4.

⁴ Bell. iv. 9, 11.

⁵ Fergusson's Note on the Holy Sepulchre, p. 23.

⁶ Bell. v. 2, 2.

flanking towers of the Damascus Gate, and were an advantageous position for a sudden sally against an enemy moving down the north road and then diverging to the west, and the remains of the towers, consisting of large hewn and bevelled stones, are still to be seen.

5. The Jews afterwards made a feint of being split into two parties, the peace party and the war party; and the former stood on the Women's Towers inviting the Romans to come and take possession of the city, while the war party, going out of the gate, pretended to be ejected from the city, afraid to approach the Romans who were hostile, and unable to return from apprehension of their own countrymen. The snare in part succeeded, and some Romans advancing to the gate flanked by the towers¹ were saluted with a shower of stones and missiles, and were chased back all the way from the gate to the Tombs of Helena.² How exactly this answers to the Damascus Gate! It is flanked on the sides by two towers fifty feet apart,³ standing partly at least on the sites of the two ancient towers. The Damascus Gate is four stades from the Tombs of the Kings, and the Jews would naturally follow the Romans for about that distance from the wall. Titus at this time was encamped on Prospect Hill on the other side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, or the pursuit would not have been pressed so far. Certainly Josephus states the Tombs of Helena to be three stades from the city, whereas they are just four stades from the present wall; but as Josephus was writing his history at Rome from his recollection of the ground, he might well be mis-

¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν τῆς πόλης ἐγένοντο πύργων. — *Bell.* v. 3, 3.

² καὶ μέχρι τῶν τῆς Ἑλένης μνημείων εἶποντο βάλλοντες. — *Bell.* v. 3, 3.

³ Krafft, 42.

taken in a single furlong. Had the ancient wall been *just three stades* from the Tombs of Helena, that is, one stade from the Damascus Gate, ruins of the wall, and particularly of the two Women's Towers, would no doubt have been discovered there; but not a vestige of ancient fortifications can be traced in that part.

6. The third wall is described by Josephus, after passing the Tombs of Helena, as running across the Royal Caverns.¹ Krafft, who agrees with us in identifying the third wall eastward of the Damascus Gate with the present wall, was, from the imperfect knowledge of that day, under a difficulty. He could find nothing to correspond with the Royal Caverns but the Grotto of Jeremiah, which lies about a stade to the north of the wall; and as the hill in which the grotto is excavated had apparently at one time been the continuation of the hill of Bezetha, on the northern brow of which the present wall stands (the intervening space having been quarried), the wall on Bezetha might, he thought, be said to run across the Royal Caverns, inasmuch as these caverns were under the northern segment of the hill, of which the southern segment supported the wall.² But recent explorations have elicited the full meaning of the historian, for in the rock which underlies the wall at the highest point of Bezetha is the entrance into the subterranean excavation known as the Cotton Cavern.³ It extends in a south-eastern direction for

¹ ἔπειτα καθῆκον ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑλένης μνημείων, καὶ διὰ σπηλαίων βασιλικῶν μηχανόμενον ἐκάμπτετο μὲν γωνιαίῳ πύργῳ κατὰ τὸ τοῦ Γραφείως προσαγορευόμενον μνημα. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

² Krafft, 45.

³ See view of the wall where the entrance is, in Barclay, 459; Traill's Josephus, i. 104; of the entrance itself, Tobl. Dritte Wand. 256; and plan of the cavern, Tobl. Dritte Wand. 258.

more than a quarter of a mile, though its greatest breadth is less than half that distance.¹ It is the great quarry from which ancient Jerusalem was built, and was perhaps called the Royal Cavern from its vast extent, as the southern cloister of the Temple, from its superior breadth and magnificence, was called the Royal Cloister. This cave was not unknown in the time of the Sultans, but was afterwards lost sight of until it was recently discovered, accidentally, by a dog scratching away the stones which had sealed up the mouth. We have no intention of describing this Tartarean region, but suffice it to say, that the entrance into the cave is in the rock itself, which supports and forms part of the wall, so that the account of Josephus is verified to the letter, that the third wall, as it ran from the Damascus Gate, was carried 'across' the Royal Caverns. This affords a strong argument that, at least from the Damascus Gate to the north-east corner, the wall of Agrippa took the exact course of the present wall.

Such are all the extracts from Josephus that appear to have any material bearing upon the course of the third or outer wall, and they lead to the inference that the third wall ran in the line of the existing wall.

In further support of this view we may add, that if, as some suppose, the third wall enclosed the *whole* swell of ground at the north of the city, so as to run near the Tombs of the Kings along the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Bezetha or the New Town, which after all was a suburb only, would be equal in its dimensions to the ancient city itself, a very improbable supposition.²

If, again, the third wall ran across this swell of

¹ Barclay, 467.

² Bartlett's Jerus. Rev. 180.

ground at any point *between* the present north wall and the Valley of Jehoshaphat, where shall we draw the line, so that the wall should, in a military point of view, be at all defensible? The present wall stands on the brow of the hill of Bezetha; but in front of the present wall no favourable ground for a fortification offers itself, and no traces of any such fortification have been found. The line of the present wall 'is actually the best defensive line that could be adopted without enclosing a very much greater space,'¹ that is, by passing round by the Tombs of the Kings along the edge of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, which was certainly *not* the course of the third wall.²

There is, however, one objection to the identification of the third wall with the line of the present wall, but it is an objection which applies almost equally to any other theory. It may be said that, if the course of the third wall be drawn as we have supposed, it is impossible to find room for the vast population assigned to Jerusalem by Josephus. If his numbers be admitted, the inference is indisputable; but the argument proves too much, for on no conceivable hypothesis could the limits of the walls, as necessarily required by the nature of the ground, have held the multitudes which the imagination of the historian has created. According to Josephus the numbers assembled at Jerusalem at the public festivals

¹ Bartlett's *Jerus. Rev.* 189, 184; and see Notes by Dr. Buchanan, p. 123.

² The Jews, for instance, could not have chased the Romans all the way from the Women's Towers to the Tombs of Helena, now the Tombs of the Kings, if the Women's Towers were in a wall running by the Tombs of the Kings; neither would the northern wall have been seven stades, as Josephus states, from Scopus, or Prospect hill.

were sometimes 2,500,000,¹ and sometimes even 3,000,000;² and those slain during the siege were reckoned at 1,100,000, and the captives at 97,000, besides 40,000 whom Titus set at liberty.³ Now the most densely peopled part of London contains only one person for every thirty square yards,⁴ and, even if we adopt the area assigned by Fergusson to Jerusalem (and he makes it much greater than we do), it would contain only 2,212,000 square yards, which at thirty square yards for each person would yield only 73,733 inhabitants. But extending the walls to the utmost verge, as on the north along the Valley of Jehoshaphat by the Tombs of the Kings, not more than 3,000,000 square yards would be enclosed, which, at the same rate, would yield only 100,000 inhabitants.⁵ Supposing that, as the siege commenced at a festival, the population for the time was doubled, as Josephus states was the case, the result would be only 200,000, which is utterly at variance with the accounts of Josephus. There are also several collateral circumstances which throw discredit on the historian in this particular. Assuming that Josephus is correct in asserting that the force within the city was 23,400,⁶ yet, taking the proportion of those who bore arms to the whole population to be one sixth, and no doubt all bore arms who were capable, we do not bring out so many as 150,000 inhabitants.⁷ That the besieged were few in number compared with the besiegers is self-evident, for, had not this been the case, Titus could never have dared to break up his

¹ Bell. vi. 9, 3.

² Bell. ii. 14, 3.

³ Bell. vi. 8, 2.

⁴ Fergusson, 50.

⁵ See Fergusson, p. 52, but who, in assigning 2,212,000 square yards, does not include the southern part of Ophel.

⁶ Bell. v. 6, 1.

⁷ See Fergusson, 48.

army into three divisions, the 12th and 15th legions at the north-west corner of the city, the 5th legion opposite Hippicus, and the 10th legion on Mount Olivet. How, again, could the Romans have otherwise erected around Jerusalem a wall of circumvallation $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, and which, nevertheless, the Jews, though pressed by the severest famine, were unable to force? We therefore entirely acquiesce in the truth of Fergusson's remark, that 'there is no point on which Josephus seems to have considered himself safer to exaggerate than on this. No one counted the people when they were alive, and no one could count them when they were dead or dispersed, and he consequently seems on all occasions to have given free play to his imagination in speaking of the numbers of his countrymen.'¹

III. OF THE TEMPLE.

Of the Outer Temple.

In the reign of Herod, and probably from the very first, the Outer Temple was a *square*, measuring a stadium on each side.² Thus, in one place, the Temple, as distinct from Antonia, is said to be a square,³ and in another place the southern side is stated to be a stadium in length,⁴ and in another the eastern side is declared to be also a stadium.⁵

¹ Fergusson, 47.

² Ant. xv. 11, 3; viii. 3, 9.

³ τὸ ἱερόν μετὰ τὴν καθαίρεσιν τῆς Ἀντωνίας τετράγωνον ἐποίησαντο. — Bell. vi. 5, 4.

⁴ μῆκος δὲ στάδιον. — Ant. xv. 11, 5.

⁵ ἦν δὲ ἡ στοὰ τοῦ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ, κειμένη δὲ ἐν φάραγγι βαθείᾳ, τετρακοσίῳν πηχῶν τοὺς τοίχους ἔχουσα. — Ant. xx. 9, 7.

The gates of the Outer Temple were the following:—On the *south* was a double gate, at about the middle.¹ On the *west* were four gates: one, the most southerly, leading by a bridge across the ravine to the palace in the High Town—that is, the Palace of the Asmoneans, as opposed to the upper² or Herod's Palace at the north-west corner of the High Town;³ two other gates on the west, leading down into the suburb which lay between Moriah and the High Town; and the fourth and most northerly gate, conducting to the Inner Low Town.⁴ On the *north* was a single gate, which Josephus refers to anonymously,⁵ but which the Mid-doth calls Tedi; and on the *east* was a gate called Shushan, from the representation of the city of Susa which was sculptured over it. It was this Outer Temple which was described by our Lord as a den of thieves. Here, as in a market-place, were congregated those who bought and sold; and here stood the tables of the money-changers, and those who sold doves.⁶ The foreign coinage brought by the pilgrims from the four corners of the world was here converted into Jewish currency, which could alone be paid into the corban or Temple treasury; and the doves were for sacrifice, as in the case of our Lord's mother,

¹ τὸ δὲ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ μέτωπον τὸ πρὸς μεσημερίαν εἶχε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ πύλας κατὰ μέσον. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

² ἡ ἀνωτέρω αὐλή.

³ Bell. ii. 17, 6.

⁴ ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις μέρεσι τοῦ περιβόλου πύλαι τέσσαρες ἐφέστασαν, ἡ μὲν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τείνουσα, τῆς ἐν μέσῳ φάραγδος εἰς διόδον ἀπειλημένης· αἱ δὲ δύο εἰς τὸ προάστειον, ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν, βαθμίσι πολλαῖς κάτω τε εἰς τὴν φάραγγα διειλημμένη, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἄνω πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πρόσβασιν. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

⁵ Bell. ii. 19, 5.

⁶ Matt. xxi. 12.

who offered for him a pair of turtle-doves and two young pigeons.¹

Of the Inner Temple.

Within the Outer Temple was the Temple proper. It commenced with a stone fence $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, with small obelisks at intervals, bearing the inscription that no Gentile might pass under penalty of death.² Within the stone fence you mounted a flight of fourteen steps, when you landed on a platform, which on the *north* and *west* and *south* sides was only 15 feet wide ; and you then ascended another flight of steps up to the sanctuary or court of the priests, which was encompassed by a wall $37\frac{1}{2}$ feet high on the interior. But on the *east*, being the front of the Temple, the platform before mentioned was not limited to a breadth of 15 feet, but was a rectangular space surrounded by a wall of its own, and called the Court of the Women, not as confined to that sex, but as the only court open to them.

According to the Mishna,³ the Inner Temple stood not exactly in the middle of the Outer Temple, but nearest to the west side, farther from the north, farther still from the east, and farthest of all from the south. But according to Josephus the Inner Temple was in the middle, not far from the cloisters.⁴ The two statements may be brought nearly together by supposing Josephus to speak with reference to the cloisters, and the Middoth to the outer walls ; for the greater space

¹ Luke ii. 24.

² The Jews were allowed to put any man, even a Roman, to death, for breach of this law. Bell. vi. 2, 4.

³ Middoth, c. ii.

⁴ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ πρῶτος περίβολος ἦν, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἀπέχων οὐ πολὺ δεύτερος. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

alluded to by the Middoth on the south was counter-balanced by the greater width of the cloister in that part: that is, on the three other sides the cloisters were 30 cubits or 45 feet wide,¹ but on the south the cloisters were treble, consisting of a nave and two side aisles; the nave 45 feet wide, and the two side aisles 30 feet each, making together 105 feet.²

The Inner Temple had in all ten gates. One, the Corinthian or Beautiful Gate, on the east, leading up to the Court of the Women; and another, on the opposite side of the same court, leading up to the sanctuary or Court of the Priests; four on the north side, and four on the south. Of the four on the north, the three most westerly led up to the altar and fabric of the Temple itself, and the fourth, the most easterly, to the Court of the Women; and the four gates on the south were in corresponding positions.

IV. OF FORT ANTONIA.

The fortress of Antonia is commonly supposed to have occupied the north-west corner of the Haram, but that spot was the site of the Acra, the Macedonian keep; and Antonia stood lower down on the mount called in the Maccabees 'the mount of the temple, that was *by the side of the Acra*,'³ viz. to the north of the Temple, but to the south of the Acra. Thus, when Herod had captured the north wall of the Temple Platform, and therefore the fortifications on the site of the Acra, he was still not in possession of the Baris,

¹ πλατεῖται μὲν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα πήχεις. — *Bell.* γ. 5, 2.

² τῶν δὲ αἱ δύο . . . εὗρος ἑκατέρας πόδας τριάκοντα . . . τῆς δὲ μέσης εὗρος μὲν ἡμιόλιον. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

³ 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

afterwards Antonia; but Antigonus still held out there, and did not surrender himself until Herod had become master of the whole city.¹

That Antonia lay along the northern side of the Temple appears from numerous passages of Josephus.² But while it occupied the greater part of the northern side, it did not cover the whole of it. Thus John, who held the Temple while Simon occupied the High Town and Low Town, defended himself against the Romans from Antonia, and also *from the northern cloister*; ³ and again, when Titus reviewed his army, the Jews looked on from the *northern part of the Temple*, so that the wall and towers of Antonia could not have stood between.⁴ But that Antonia lay more to the west, than to the east, of the north side of the Temple results from the statement that it was situate at the *north-west corner* of the Temple.⁵ Indeed when Titus had taken Antonia he cast up two mounds against the Temple, and one of them was *outside Antonia* against the northern cloister, which of course could not be if Antonia covered the whole of the north side.⁶

The cloisters originally ran round the Temple only, but Herod cut through the northern wall of the Temple

¹ Ant. xiv. 16, 2.

² κατὰ δὲ τὴν βόρειον πλευρὰν ἀκρόπολις ἐγγώνιος εὐερκής ἐτετείχιστο. — Ant. xv. 11, 4. τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ βόρειον ἐπὶ αὐτῷ φρούριον. — Bell. i. 21, 1.

³ οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ τε τῆς Ἀντωνίας καὶ τῆς προσαρκτίου στοᾶς τοῦ Ἱεροῦ. — Bell. v. 7, 3.

⁴ κατεπλήσθη γὰρ ἀφορώντων τό τε ἀρχαῖον τεῖχος ἅπαν, καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα. — Bell. v. 9, 1. Here, however, the Temple may be spoken of in a large sense, as comprising Antonia.

⁵ ἡ δὲ Ἀντωνία κατὰ γωνίαν μὲν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον. — Bell. v. 5, 8.

⁶ τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ἔξω κατὰ τὴν βόρειον στοάν. — Bell. vi. 2, 7.

and continued the cloisters to Antonia and round the interior of the fortress.¹ Antonia itself did not touch the Temple, but was united to it by two parallel cloisters erected by Herod, one to the east and the other to the west, and which were called the limbs or legs,² or connecting galleries,³ of the Temple.⁴ The cloisters leading to Antonia stood, as we may conclude from the natural slope of the mount from north to south, on higher ground than the Temple, and accordingly we find that Antonia was approached from the cloisters of the Temple by steps;⁵ and it was up these steps that Paul was carried from the Temple into the castle, i. e. Antonia.⁶

As to the exact dimensions of the fortress, Josephus

¹ διακόψαντες δὲ καὶ τὸ προσάρκτιον τεῖχος τοσοῦτον προσέλαβον ὅσον ὕστερον ἐπέιχεν ὁ τοῦ παντὸς ἱεροῦ περίβολος. — *Bell.* v. 5, 1. τὸ δὲ ἔνδον [of Antonia] μεμέριστο εἰς πᾶσαν οἰκὼν ἰδέαν τε καὶ χρῆσιν, περιστοὰ τε καὶ βαλανεῖα, etc. — *Bell.* v. 5, 8.

² τὰ μέλη.

³ αἱ συνεχεῖς στοαί.

⁴ οἱ δὲ στασιασταί, δέισαντες μὴ πάλιν ἐπελθὼν ὁ Φλωῶρος κρατήσῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ διὰ τῆς Ἀντωνίας, ἀναβάντες εὐθέως τὰς συνεχεῖς στοὰς τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἀπεκόψαν. — *Bell.* ii. 15, 6. καὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀπεκόψατε τῆς Ἀντωνίας. — *Bell.* ii. 16, 5. ἐν ᾧ Ἰουδαῖοι κακούμενοι ταῖς συμβολαῖς ἀεὶ κατ' ὀλίγον κοροφουμένου πολέμου καὶ τῷ ναῷ προσέρποντος, καθάπερ σηπομένου σώματος, ἀπέκοπτον τὰ προειλημμένα μέλη, φθάνοντες τὴν εἰς πρόσω νομήν. τῆς γὰρ βορείου καὶ κατὰ δύοσιν στοᾶς τὸ συνεχές [the western arm] πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ἐμπρήσαντες, ἔπειτα ἀπέρρηξαν ὅσον πήχεις εἴκοσι . . . μετὰ δ' ἡμέρας δύο . . . τὴν πλησίον στοάν [the eastern arm] ὑποπιπρῶσι Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ μέχρι . . . πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν προκόψαντος τοῦ πυρὸς, ἀποκόπτουσιν ὁμοίους Ἰουδαῖοι τὴν ὀροφὴν . . . τὸ πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν συναφές αὐτῶν διαιροῦντες. — *Bell.* vi. 2, 9.

⁵ καθὰ δὲ συνῆπτο ταῖς τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοαῖς, εἰς ἀμφοτέρας [the western and northern] εἶχε καταβάσεις. — *Bell.* v. 5, 8.

⁶ μέλλων δὲ εἰσάγεσθαι εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν . . . ὁ Παῦλος ἐστὼς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, etc. — *Acts.* xxi. 37, 40.

in one place tells us that Herod, by including Antonia within the precincts of the Temple, made the area of the Temple double what it was.¹ And as the Temple was a square of 600 feet on each side, Antonia, if it doubled the area, must also, if a square, have contained 600 feet on each side; or, if a rectangle, must have had its sides of greater length.

Now, on the one hand, Antonia did not cover the *whole* north side of the Temple, and the *breadth* of Antonia must therefore have been less than 600 feet; on the other hand, the cloisters of the Temple were four stades, and, with the cloisters of Antonia reckoned in, were only six stades,² so that the *length* of the sides of Antonia could not have exceeded 600 feet, or the cloisters round the Temple and Antonia together would have made more than six stades. The space, therefore, enclosed by Antonia could not, when added to the Temple, have actually doubled its dimensions; but Josephus, by so stating in general terms, must be understood as saying only that this was nearly the result.

We can determine whereabouts the eastern parallel cloister of Antonia, in descending from the north, struck the northern cloister of the Temple, with some exactness, as follows :—

¹ αὐτόν τε τὸν ναὸν ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀντειχίστατο χώραν τῆς οὐσῆς διπλασίαν, ἀμέτροις μὲν χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν, ἀνυπερβλήτῃ δὲ τῇ πολυτελείᾳ· τεκμήριον δέ ἐστιν, αἱ μεγάλαι στοαὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ τὸ βόρειον ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρούριον· ἃς μὲν γὰρ ἀνφοδόμησεν ἐκ θεμελίων τὸ δὲ ἐπεσκεύασε πλύντῃ δαψιλεῖ, κατ' οὐδὲν τῶν βασιλείων ἔλαττον ὁ Ἀντωνίαν ἐκάλεσεν.— *Bell.* i. 21, 1.

² ὁ δὲ πᾶς κυκλὸς αὐτῶν εἰς ἑξ σταδίων συνεμετρεῖτο περιλαμβανομένης καὶ τῆς Ἀντωνίας.— *Bell.* v. 5, 2.

When Titus had mastered Antonia and burnt the northern cloister of the Outer Temple, he made his approaches against the Inner Temple by four mounds, two within the site occupied by Antonia, and two without it. When the legions had completed 'the two mounds,' they applied the battering-ram against the western side of the Inner Temple, and assaulted the northern gate of the Temple.¹ It is not said what two mounds these were, but it may be gathered from the narrative itself. One of the two was of course that on the west of the Temple, as the western wall of the Inner Temple was battered from it. The other was the mound cast up outside of Antonia against the northern cloister of the Temple,² for it gave access to what Josephus calls 'the northern gate.'³ The mound in question could not have been either of those within Antonia, for one of them was directed against the north-west corner of the Inner Temple, where was no gate, and the other was not against a gate, but against the ἐξέδρα between the two gates.⁴ Neither by 'the northern gate,' which was opposite the mound, can Josephus refer to the northern gate of the *Outer Temple*, called in the Middoth 'Tedi;' for, when the gate held fast, the Romans applied ladders from it to the cloisters,⁵ which must have been the cloisters of the Inner Temple, for the northern cloister of the Outer Temple had been previously destroyed.⁶ As this northern gate, therefore, was one of the four northern gates of the Inner Temple,

¹ τὴν ἐσπέριον ἐξέδραν τοῦ ἔσθωθεν ἱεροῦ . . . τῆς δὲ βορείου πύλης.
— Bell. vi. 4. 1.

² τὸ δὲ ἑτερόν ἔξω κατὰ τὴν βόρειον στοάν. — Bell. vi. 2, 7.

³ τῆς βορείου πύλης. — Bell. vi. 4, 1.

⁴ Bell. vi. 2, 7.

⁵ Bell. vi. 4, 1.

⁶ Bell. vi. 3, 2.

and as the two mounds within Antonia, more to the west, were one of them over against the north-west corner of the Inner Temple, and therefore near the most westerly of the four gates, and the other over against the ἐξέδρα between the two next or middle gates, the mound without Antonia could only have been cast up against the most easterly of the four northern gates of the Inner Temple. If so, it was at the distance of about 475 feet from the western wall of the Temple, which was 600 feet broad; and, as it was without the site of Antonia, the eastern cloister of Antonia itself must have joined the northern cloister of the Temple at about 450 feet from the western wall. The area, therefore, inclosed by the cloister of Antonia would be about 600 feet long by about 450 feet broad.

Josephus, in one place, furnishes us with a particular description of Antonia,¹ and as the account has been considered by some not very intelligible, it may be worth while to repeat it with a few accompanying remarks:—

‘Antonia,’ he says, ‘lay at the corner of two cloisters of the Outer Temple, viz. the western and northern. It was built upon a rock 75 feet in height, which was precipitous all round.’ If this height be applied to all the sides it must be a great exaggeration, as there is no rock on the Temple Platform of anything like this altitude. But, probably, Josephus had in his mind the most favourable side, viz. the western, where was the Asmonean Valley; and, if so, then if we allow for the under-ground foundations, the height might have approximated somewhat to the amount stated.

‘First of all, the rock from the foot of it was faced

¹ Bell. v. 5, 8.

with smooth layers of stone, both for beauty, and that anyone might lose his footing who attempted either to ascend or descend.' This slope of the base of the tower was a favourite style of fortification with Herod, for it was adopted also at his palace in the High Town; at least Phasaelus, one of the three great towers there, was thus built, as may be seen from the view of Phasaelus, erroneously called Hippicus, in Bartlett's 'Jerusalem Revisited';¹ and in Traill's Josephus.² As Antonia had a communication with the *western* cloister of the Temple,³ it is likely that the western wall of Antonia was flush with that of the Temple Platform; and, if so, Josephus, in speaking of this sloping base, can refer only to the three other sides of Antonia. However, the western wall of the Haram has never been thoroughly examined, and much may still be brought to light.

'Next, before reaching the structure of the *tower* was a wall of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet, and a little within this⁴ the whole area of Antonia rose for 60 feet.' Looking again at the views of Phasaelus in Bartlett and in Traill's Josephus, the reader will see a similar low wall, a few feet only from the wall of the tower. And the fact that this feature attributed to Antonia should be found in the only undoubted remnant, at the present day, of the architecture of Herod, leads us to rely with some confidence on the accuracy of Josephus in the other details. Robinson remarks, that, while Antonia is called by Josephus an acropolis or garrison (φρούριον), it is never

¹ Page 19.

² Vol. ii. p. 126.

³ εἰς ἀμφοτέρας [the western and northern] εἶχε καταβάσεις. — *Bell.* v. 5, 8. τῆς βορείου καὶ κατὰ δύσιν στοᾶς τὸ συνεχές πρὸς τὴν Ἀντωνίαν. — *Bell.* vi. 2, 9.

⁴ ἐνδοτέρῳ δὲ τούτου. — *Bell.* v. 5, 8.

called a tower, so that Robinson understood the historian, in speaking of 'the structure of the tower,' in this place, to refer only to the principal tower, which occupied the site of the Bireh or Castle, translated in Nehemiah, 'the palace which appertained to the house of the Lord,'¹ and called by the Maccabees the Baris, the Greek form of the Hebrew Bireh. If we could adopt this view it would afford a singular confirmation of our hypothesis, that the Tower of Antonia stood on the Sukrah. In that case, the statement that 'the area of Antonia rose for 60 feet,' could not mean 60 feet in height, as the *main tower* was 105 feet high, and the other three 75 feet high; and the words would have to be interpreted, 'the area of Antonia rose to the extent of 60 feet,' i.e. in length and breadth; and the dimensions of the Sukrah are just about this, viz. 60 feet from north to south, and 55 feet from east to west.² However, after carefully weighing the whole paragraph, we are driven to the conclusion that Josephus, by the tower, means the whole fortress, for he proceeds:—'But the interior has the space and arrangement of a palace, for it was distributed into apartments of every form and use, both cloisters and baths, and spacious barracks for soldiers; so that in having every convenience it resembled a city, and in magnificence a palace.' And how could all this be compressed into a single tower? The language evidently points to the whole compass of the fortress, which is here *likened* to a palace, and *was* in fact as extensive as the palace in the Upper Town.³

But 'Antonia,' continues Josephus, 'being *tower-like* in its form as a whole, was distinguished at the corners by four *other* towers, of which the rest were

¹ Neh. ii. 8.

² Barclay, 497.

³ Bell. i. 21, 1.

75 feet high, but the one at the south-east corner was 105 feet high, so as to command from it a view of the whole Temple.' Here the expression *tower-like*, as applied to the entire fortress, explains and justifies the designation of it a little before as a 'tower.' Besides, he speaks here of four *other* towers, and as no one ever imagined that there was a fifth tower, we can only understand these four *other* towers to be opposed to the entire fortress, which was not only tower-like, but had been previously described as a tower.

Unfortunately no remains of Antonia, except perhaps the foundations of the western wall, now exist; but if any reliance can be placed on the accounts of Josephus, we can determine the position of Antonia with some accuracy. It stood a little to the north of the Temple, more on the west than on the east side, and was connected with the Temple by two parallel colonnades; and the great south-east corner tower, the old Baris of the Maccabees, frowned on the isolated rock, now called the Sukrah. The chamber under the Sukrah has not been explored, but time may prove it to be connected, either at the side or by the closed orifice in the floor, with the subterranean passage known to the Maccabees, and restored by Herod, leading from Antonia to the Temple.¹

V. OF THE ACROPOLIS, OR TEMPLE PLATFORM.

This area (now the Haram, 1,520 feet long and 932 feet broad) comprised, of old, on the western side: 1. The Temple on the south; 2. Antonia, on the north of the Temple; and 3. The site of the Acra, the Macedonian keep, on the north of Antonia. On the eastern

¹ Ant. xiii. 11, 2; xv. 11, 7.

side of the Acropolis, between the city wall on the east, and the Temple and Antonia and the site of the Acra on the west, was a tract called 'the Cedron ravine,' an appropriate designation from its position upon the slope toward the Cedron Valley. As the passages of Josephus relating to this space have not hitherto received sufficient attention, we shall give them in detail.

We may remark *in limine*, that, when Josephus refers to the great Valley of Jehoshaphat, he calls it simply 'Cedron.'¹ But, when he refers to this intramural strip of ground, he invariably designates it, by way of contradistinction, as the '*so-called* Cedron ravine.'

When the factions of Simon and John were beleaguered in Jerusalem by Titus, Josephus tells us how the *city* was divided between them, viz. that Simon held the High Town, and Acra, or the Low Town; and that John held the Temple 'and the parts about it to no small extent, both Ophla and the so-called Cedron ravine.'² Ophla and the so-called Cedron ravine therefore were within the city, and contiguous to the Temple. We know where Ophla was, as the old wall running up from the south joined the eastern cloister of the Temple at the place called Ophla, at the south-east of the Temple;³ and the so-called Cedron ravine, which was also next the Temple, could only lie where we should, from its name, locate it, viz. on the east of the Temple, between it and the outer wall, and so sloping down toward the Valley of Cedron.

Again, Josephus describes the wall of Agrippa as running along the north of the city toward the east,

¹ Ant. viii. 1, 5; ix. 7, 3. Bell. v. 2, 3; 7, 3; 12, 2.

² τότε ἱερὸν καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐπ' οὐκ ὀλίγον, τὸν τε Ὀφλᾶν καὶ τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα. — Bell. v. 6, 1.

³ Bell. v. 4, 2.

and then turning at a corner tower to the south, and ending by a junction with the old ambit at the 'so-called Cedron ravine.'¹ Here Josephus cannot mean that the wall ended at the Valley of Cedron or Jehoshaphat, for the wall had been running along it all the way from the tower at the north-east corner; but he says it ended at the '*so-called Cedron ravine*,' which can only be the intramural space shut in between the Temple and the old wall, the outer peribolus of the Temple Platform.

Again, the north-east wall of the Temple is said to overlook, not the Valley of Cedron, which it did not, but 'the *so-called Cedron ravine*.'² Had the wall of the Temple overhung the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and been the outer bulwark against an enemy, it would have been strengthened by towers, and not merely decorated with an ornamental cloister, such as that called Solomon's Porch. Besides, the ridge on which the Temple stood is 1,000 feet broad in this part; and as the Temple certainly overlooked the valley on the west, and reached only 600 feet in any direction, it could not have touched the Valley of Jehoshaphat on the east.

It is evident from these citations, that by the so-called Cedron ravine Josephus means a different thing from the Valley of Cedron, though the two have been commonly confounded.

The topography of the Acropolis or Temple Platform in the latter days of the Jewish state may be further elucidated by the following passages from Josephus :—

¹ τῷ δὲ ἀρχαίῳ περιβόλῳ συνάπτον, εἰς τὴν Κεδρῶνα καλουμένην φάραγγα κατέληγεν. — *Bell.* v. 4, 2.

² ἡ συνάπτουσα γωνία τῆς Κεδρῶνος καλουμένης φάραγγος ὑπερδεδόμητο. — *Bell.* vi. 3, 2.

1. On the death of Herod the Great, and during the absence of Archelaus at Rome, an outbreak occurred at Jerusalem against the Romans, then commanded by Sabinus. One legion only was present, and this was quartered partly in Herod's Palace, which overawed the High Town, and partly in Antonia, the citadel of the Low Town. The Jewish insurgents, in three bodies, laid siege to the Romans in both strongholds. One division of the Jews watched the north and east sides of 'the Temple,' and the second took up its position at the Hippodrome on the south of the Temple,¹ while on the west the Romans in Antonia were sufficiently blockaded by the streets of the city. The third division of the insurgents encamped to the west of Herod's Palace, which was situate in the High Town.

Sabinus, a mean-spirited tyrant, posted himself in Phasaelus, the strongest of the three famous towers of the Palace, and not daring to put himself at the head of his own troops, waved a flag² from the top of Phasaelus as a signal to the legionaries in Antonia to make a sally into the Temple.³ This they did, and drove the insurgents before them, until a body of the latter went round and mounted the cloisters, and so assailed the Romans from vantage ground. It was no time for scruples, and the Romans at once set fire to the cloisters, and not a man upon the roof escaped. Nay, the Romans, taking advantage of the confusion, forced their way into the

¹ καὶ τρία μέρη νεμηθέντες ἐπὶ τοιῶνδε στρατοπεδεύονται χωρίων· οἱ μὲν τὸν Ἰππόδρομον ἀπολαβόντες, καὶ τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο μερῶν οἱ μὲν τῷ βορείῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πρὸς μεσημέριαν τετραμμένοι τὴν ἑβάν μοῖραν εἶχον, μοῖρα δὲ αὐτῶν ἡ τρίτη τὰ πρὸς ἐνόμενον ἥλιον ἔνθα καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον ἦν. — *Ant.* xvii. 10, 2. *Bell.* ii. 3, 1.

² κατέσειε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις. — *Ant.* xvii. 10, 2.

³ εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. — *Bell.* ii. 3, 2.

Inner Temple and sacked the Treasury. Upon this account we may observe — 1. That when Josephus speaks of the Jews as occupying the north and east sides of the ‘Temple,’ he evidently means the Temple inclusive of Antonia, which had been united to it by Herod. 2. It is not to be supposed that the Jews were encamped on the north beyond the pool called now Bethesda, or on the east beyond the present wall of the Haram; and we must conclude, therefore, that the Jews were within the Platform and besieging Antonia (which stood on the west of the Platform) on the north and east sides. 3. The Hippodrome or Prison, which is here described as standing to the south of the Temple, was no doubt identical with, or at least occupied the site of, the court of the prison formerly attached to the palace of the kings of Judah, situate on the south of the Temple.

2. When the Jewish war broke out the factions set fire to Antonia,¹ and on the approach of Cestius abandoned Bezetha or the New Town, and also the Low Town, and retired into the inner city or High Town, and the Temple.² Cestius then encamped on the north of Herod’s Palace, the stronghold of the High Town,³ and subsequently made an assault upon the north of the Temple in the Low Town,⁴ and attempted, but in vain, to fire the northern gate of the Temple (the only one on that side, and called in the Middoth Tedi).⁵ Had the Jews defended the walls of the Temple Platform, Cestius could not have approached the northern gate of the

¹ τὸ φρούριον ἐνέπρησαν. — *Bell.* ii. 17, 7; v. 4, 4.

² εἰς τὴν ἐνδοτέραν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀνεχώρουν. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 4.

³ ἀντικρὺ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 4.

⁴ κατὰ τὸ προσάρκτιον ἐπιχειρεῖ κλίμα τῷ ἱερῷ. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 5.

⁵ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν πύλιν. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 5.

Temple ; but the Jews, wishing to narrow their defences, had confined themselves simply on the west to the High Town, and on the east to the Temple. Here also the word Temple appears to include Antonia. Between Antonia and the north wall of the Platform was an open space, the site of the Macedonian Acra, and therefore, whether Antonia was occupied or not by the Jews, Cestius had access along this intervening space to the northern gate of the Temple proper, which lay to the east of Antonia, and was not covered by it.

3. When Titus besieged Jerusalem, he first took Agrippa's wall, which gave him possession of Bezetha. He then encamped within Agrippa's wall, but out of reach of missiles from the first wall, on the spot called the Camp of the Assyrians, and therefore at the north-west of the city.¹ He shortly afterwards captured the second wall which enclosed the Inner Low Town, and threw down the northern limb of it ; but posted guards along the western limb to secure his troops from annoyance in their intended operations, on the west of the second wall, against the High Town.²

Titus was now in possession of the Inner Low Town ; and there remained only the High Town and the Temple Platform, and Acra or the Outer Low Town below the Temple on the south. The Platform was protected on the west, first by the Temple wall for the length of a stadium from the southern end, then by the wall of Antonia for another stadium, and then by the wall which continued the wall of Antonia up to the north wall, the site of the old Acra, where the wall turned east along the Pool of Bethesda.

Herod had not been in possession of the Inner Low

¹ Bell. v. 7, 3.

² Bell. v. 8, 2.

Town, and had therefore been obliged to commence operations on the north of the Temple, first against the outer wall of the plateau, and then against the wall of the Temple itself. But as Titus was in possession of the Inner Low Town, and as this could not be held with safety so long as Antonia was in the hands of the enemy,¹ he determined to assault Antonia itself, which of course he could only do on the western side, where the wall of the Platform was also the wall of Antonia. Had Titus attacked the northern wall of the Platform, as both Pompey and Herod had done, Josephus would no doubt have mentioned it, as both in the 'Wars' and in the 'Antiquities' he takes care to notice that Herod delivered the assault where Pompey had led the way. Had the fosse of Bethesda been the scene of Titus's operations, we should have heard something of a work of such magnitude, whereas Josephus on this occasion makes not the slightest allusion to it. The circumstance, also, that the faction of John fought from higher ground against the legions,² agrees with the western side of Antonia, but not with the northern. How, again, could John, at the north-west corner of the Haram, where it is solid rock, have run the mines which he did under the enemy's works? Besides, Titus, after capturing the third wall, had already made an attempt on the Temple Platform from the north, and found the fortifications too strong for him; and one main reason for mastering the second wall was that he might then assault Antonia within the lines of the second wall on the west of Antonia.

The side of the citadel towards the city was 600 feet

¹ τούτου γὰρ μὴ ληφθέντος οὐδὲ τὸ ἀσπὶ ἀκίνδυνον ἦν. — *Bell.* v. 9, 2.

² ἀφ' ὑψηλότερων μαχόμεναι. — *Bell.* v. 9, 2.

long, and therefore the curtain between the north and south towers was proportionably weak. Against this part therefore two mounds were cast up, one about the middle of the Pool Struthion, and the other at 30 feet distance.¹ The Pool Struthion lay near the baths now known as Hammâm es Shefa. There are still two pools in this quarter, recently discovered. One, called the Mekhimeh Pool, is under the western wall of the Haram, commencing from the causeway of Temple street and running 84 feet along the wall of the Haram, and is 42 feet wide; and 'there is also quite a large pool of water kept well filled between the Mekhimeh Pool and the Hammâm es Shefa, quite near the latter.'² Struthion in Greek signifies 'Soapwort,' the *Herba lanaria* of the Latins, used for cleansing wool;³ and the Struthion, or Soapwort Pool, was no doubt so called from the ablutions in connection with the adjoining baths, which still exist.⁴

The two mounds cast up by Titus against Antonia were completed in seventeen days, but they were undermined from Antonia by the Jews, and destroyed shortly after.⁵

Titus, upon this disaster, commenced the wall of circumvallation, so fatal in its consequences to the besieged. It began at the Assyrian camp, at the north-west corner of the city, and was carried through the

¹ καὶ θάτερον μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντωνίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου τάγματος ἐβλήθη κατὰ μέσον τῆς Στρουθίου καλουμένης κολυμβήθρας· τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ δωδεκάτου διαστῶτος ὅσον εἰς πῆχεις εἴκοσι. — *Bell.* v. 11, 4.

² Barclay, 538. Tobler's Denk. 71.

³ Plin. N. H. xix. 18. Holy City, ii. 497, 2nd ed.

⁴ Barclay (p. 322) calls it the Sparrow Pool, as if the name were derived from στροῦθος, a sparrow. This is clearly an oversight.

⁵ *Bell.* v. 11, 4.

Lower New Town eastward to Cedron; crossed the valley to the Mount of Olives; turned south to the Peristereon¹ or Columbarium, the honeycombed rock at the village of Siloam; traversed the Mount of Offence, descended into the Valley of Hinnom, and mounted the Hill of Evil Counsel; then ascended northward to the tomb of Herod, by the Dragon or Serpent Pool, now Mamilla; and then joined itself eastward to the Assyrian camp, whence it began. The whole circuit was five miles wanting only one furlong;² and the reason for carrying out the wall so far from the city was to prevent the escape of the Jews by their numerous subterranean passages, which reached to great distances.³

The Romans then threw up four fresh mounds against the same side of Antonia as before, viz. the west,⁴ and the Jews could not prevent this, though they attempted a sally, and in twenty-one days the mounds were finished,⁵ and the battering-rams applied. They produced no effect apparently; but at night, partly from the shake given by the engines, and partly from the foundations having been loosened by the mine of the Jews, the western wall of Antonia fell to the ground.⁶

However, the Jews had provided against such a contingency, and had run up another wall behind, but of inferior strength. The courage of the Romans is said to have been damped by the sight of the second wall, and that of the Jews to have been sustained by the reflection 'that Antonia still remained,' viz. from the barrier opposed by the new wall.⁷

¹ From περιστερά.

² Bell. v. 12, 2.

³ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τῶν ὑπονόμων ἴσχυον, ὀρωρυγμένους τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔνδοθεν ὑπὸ τὰ τεῖχη μέχρι πόρῳ τῆς χώρας εἶχον, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν διεξίοντες, etc. — *Dion*, lxvi. 4. Bell. i. 18, 2.

⁴ Bell. v. 12, 4.

⁵ Bell. vi. 1, 1.

⁶ Bell. vi. 1, 3.

⁷ θαρρύνειν ὡς μενούσης συνέβαινε τῆς Ἀντωνίας. — *Bell.* vi. 1, 4.

A few days after this the newly erected second wall was scaled by a surprise at night, when the Jews in a panic rushed from Antonia into the Temple, and the Romans from the west forced their way into Antonia through the mine which had been driven by the Jews under the wall;¹ and the Romans even rushed pellmell with the Jews into the Temple itself, to the south, but were again forced back, and shut up in Antonia.²

The area of Antonia was now levelled by the Romans, with the exception of the south-east tower, which, being the highest and overlooking the Temple, was occupied by Titus personally, to superintend the operations below.³

It was not until after seven days' labour that the legions reached the wall of the Temple, which shows that no little space intervened between Antonia and the Temple. We have seen that the two were connected together by cloisters running between them, and called the limbs of the Temple.

The Romans now cast up four mounds against the Temple, two within Antonia, and two without it. Of those within, one, the most western, was over against the north-western corner of the Inner Temple; and the other, the eastern, was over against the ἐξέδρα, or alcove, between the two gates of the Inner Temple. Of those without Antonia, one was against the western

¹ Robinson writes that 'many of the Jews, in fleeing away to the Temple, fell into a mine that had been dug by the tyrant John.' (Rob. iii. 232.) This, it is conceived, is a misapprehension of the passage. καταφευγόντων δ' Ἰουδαίων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ αὐτοὶ διὰ τῆς διώρυχος εἰσέπιπτον ἣν ὁ Ἰωάννης ὑπὸ τὰ χῶματα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπώρυξε. — *Bell.* vi. 1, 7.

² *Bell.* vi. 1, 7.

³ *Bell.* vi. 2, 1.

cloister of the Temple, and the other against the northern cloister.¹

As to the mound within Antonia, against the north-west corner of the Inner Temple, the western cloisters of the Temple were 45 feet wide, and if we allow the same space, or somewhat more, for the interval between the cloisters and the Inner Temple, the distance of this mound eastward from the western side of the outer wall would be about 100 feet. As to the other mound within Antonia, over against the alcove, 'between the two gates,' the Inner Temple had four gates on the north: three leading up to the Court of the Priests, containing the altar and Temple edifice, and one up to the Court of the Women; and, though we are not informed by Josephus between which two gates this alcove was situate, we may infer that it was *not* between the gate into the Court of the Women and the next gate on the west, as a wall intervened to prevent any alcove. Nor was it between the two most westerly gates, as this would bring the two mounds *within* Antonia too close together; and we should therefore place the alcove in question between the two central gates of the four; and this view is confirmed by the circumstance, that the western side of the Inner Temple had only one alcove, which was no doubt in the middle;² and we may presume, therefore, that the northern side had also but one alcove, and that it was also in the middle, between the two central gates.

¹ πλησιάσαντα δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ περιβύλῳ τὰ τάγματα κατήρχετο χωμάτων· τὸ μὲν ἀντικρὺ τῆς τοῦ εἰσω ἱεροῦ γωνίας ἦτις ἦν κατ' ἄρκτον καὶ δύοσιν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὴν βόρειον ἐξέδραν ἢ μεταξύ τῶν δύο πυλῶν ἦν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν δύο, θάτερον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέριον στοᾶν τοῦ ἐξωθεν ἱεροῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἔξω κατὰ τὴν βόρειον.—Bell. vi. 2, 7.

² Bell. vi. 4, 1.

As the Romans made daily attacks upon the Temple, along the colonnades or cloisters that connected the Temple with Antonia, the Jews now set fire to the cloister which ran from the north-west corner of the Temple, and thus cut off the communication by this passage between the Temple and Antonia; and two days after the Romans set fire to the eastern cloister, which led from the Temple to Antonia; and thereupon the Jews, that the cloisters of the Temple itself might not be burnt, cut away the eastern cloister which joined Antonia to the Temple, and so severed the Temple altogether from Antonia.¹ The Temple now stood alone, a simple square, as it had originally been; and thus, says Josephus, was fulfilled the old prophecy, that when the Temple should be made a square, the city and sanctuary should be destroyed.²

The Jews next enticed the Romans upon the western cloister of the Temple, and then themselves set fire to it, and the whole was consumed as far as to the tower which John had erected at the south-west corner, over the gates leading from the Temple by the bridge to the Xyst.³

The next day the Romans, in revenge, burnt the whole of the northern cloister of the Outer Temple, 'as far as the eastern cloisters, where the two cloisters meet in an angle over the so-called Cedron ravine, and the

¹ Bell. vi. 2, 9.

² ἀλώσεσθαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἐπειδὴν τὸ ἱερόν γένηται τετράγωνον. — Bell. vi. 5, 4. This passage has been the subject of various explanations, according to the different views of the numerous writers upon the subject; but surely the simple solution offered is the correct one.

³ κατεκάη δὲ ἡ στοὰ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰωάννου πύργου ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῷ πρὸς Σίμωνα πολέμῳ κατεσκεύασεν ὑπὲρ τὰς ἐξαγούσας ὑπὲρ τὸν ἔνυστον πύλας. — Bell. vi. 3, 2.

depth is fearful.’¹ This passage has produced much confusion with many, who take the expression, the ‘so-called Cedron ravine,’ to mean the Valley of Cedron; but we have already explained that by the ‘so-called Cedron ravine’ Josephus means here, as elsewhere, the slope from the Temple wall to the outer wall of the Temple Platform.

The western and northern cloisters having been burnt, the bare walls in those parts, as no longer defensible, were abandoned by the Jews, and accordingly we hear no more of them; but the Jews now confined themselves to the Inner Temple, which, standing on a terrace of considerable elevation, and having thick walls beside, was an exceedingly strong fortress. However, the Romans completed the two mounds without Antonia, — one on the western and the other on the northern side; and then on the west applied the battering-ram, and on the north commenced undermining the northern gate.² By the northern gate must here be meant a northern gate of the *Inner Temple*, for the Romans now scaled the cloister,³ which could only be the cloister of the *Inner Temple*, as the northern cloister of the *Outer Temple* had been previously burnt;⁴ and of the four northern gates of the *Inner Temple*, the one in question could only have been the most eastern, leading up to the Court of the Women, for the mound cast up *within* Antonia was over against the ἐξέδρα, which was between the two central gates; and the mound without Antonia was of course more to the east, and must, there-

¹ τῇδε ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν βόρειον στοὰν ἐνέπρησαν μέχρι τῆς ἀνατολικῆς ὁλῆς, ὧν ἡ συνάπτουσα γωνία τῆς Κεδρῶνος καλοῦμενης φάραγγος ὑπερδεδόμητο, παρ’ ὃ καὶ φοβερόν ἦν τὸ βάθος. — *Bell.* vi. 3, 2.

² τῆς βορείου πύλης. — *Bell.* vi. 4, 1.

³ *Bell.* vi. 4, 1.

⁴ *Bell.* vi. 3, 2.

fore, have been against the most easterly of the four gates.

The Romans now fired the cloisters of the Inner Temple, and, after some attempt to extinguish the flames on the part of the Romans themselves, the whole fabric of the Temple was reduced to ashes.¹ The Roman standards were now carried in triumph into the Temple, and sacrifices offered to them, and Titus himself was saluted by the title of 'Imperator.'² And thus 'the abomination of desolation,' spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stood in the Holy Place.³

Titus, being thus in possession of the Temple, held a parley with the Jews of the High Town, across the bridge leading from the south-west corner of the Temple to the Xyst, just below the Palace of Agrippa, which stood on the eastern brink of the High Town, now called Sion, but without effect.⁴

The Outer Low Town or outer Acra on Ophel, below the Temple, as well as the High Town, was still in the hands of the factions, and they now plundered the Palace of Helena, queen of Adiabene, in revenge for her descendants having gone over to the Romans.⁵

The royal palace here referred to, and belonging to the princes of Adiabene,⁶ was quite distinct both from the Palace of Herod and the Palace of the Asmoneans; the one at the north-west, and the other at the north-east, corner of the Upper City.

The Romans next expelled the factions from Ophel,

¹ Bell. vi. 4, 2.

² Bell. vi. 6, 1.

³ Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.

⁴ ἴσταται κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύοσιν μέρος τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ· ταύτη γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ξυστὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, καὶ γέφυρα συνάπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν. — Bell. vi. 6, 2.

⁵ ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ὀρμήσαντες αὐλήν. — Bell. vi. 7, 1.

⁶ Bell. iv. 9, 11.

here called by Josephus the Low Town,¹ and then cast up mounds against the High Town; one on the west, opposite Herod's Palace, and the other on the east, in the Xyst, viz. at the bridge leading from the Temple, and at the tower erected by Simon.²

The mounds were soon completed, when the High Town was carried by assault, and the whole of Jerusalem, with the exception of the citadel composed of three towers, Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne, and the barracks contiguous, along the western wall of the palace, was razed to the ground.

¹ ἐκ τῆς κάτω πόλεως. — *Bell.* vi. 7, 2.

² κατὰ τὸν ἔνδοξον ἐξ οὗ καὶ [qu. lege κατὰ] τὴν γέφυραν καὶ τὸν Σίμωνος πύργον ὃν ἐκοδόμησε πρὸς Ἰωάννην πολεμῶν ἑαυτῷ φρούριον. — *Bell.* vi. 8, 1.

CHAPTER V.

PRESENT STATE OF THE TEMPLE MOUNT.

THE Haram es Sherif measures, according to Catherwood, 1,520 feet on the east side, 1,020 feet on the north, 1,617 feet on the west, and 932 feet on the south.¹ As these dimensions are entirely different from those of the Temple as described either by Josephus or the Mishna, the question is, Where did the Temple stand? Did it occupy the whole area; or did it cover only a part; and, if so, what part?

First. Some, as Catherwood, suppose that the *whole* Haram, as it now appears, represents the area of the ancient Temple. But the measurements of the Platform, as given by Catherwood himself, are so at variance with the accounts of Josephus and the Middoth, that the hypothesis will not bear a moment's consideration. According to Josephus, the sides of the Temple were only 600 feet each; and the Middoth, which exaggerates the dimensions to accommodate them to the visionary temple of Ezekiel, makes them only 500 cubits, or 750 feet each; and both Josephus and the Middoth agree in saying that the Temple was a perfect square, with all its sides equal, whereas the Haram is half as long again as it is broad. The advocates of this theory

¹ See the different measurements collated, Barclay, 485.

have been chiefly influenced by the fact, that the ancient masonry all round the Haram is bevelled, and of a uniform character; but this only serves to confirm what we have before advanced, viz. that contemporaneously with the building of the Temple an outer wall or peribolus was constructed for its defence.

Secondly. Dr. Robinson's idea is that the Temple occupied a *square* of the breadth of the present area, but at the southern end of it, and that the rectangular space remaining at the north is an accretion, by taking in the space of Fort Antonia, which reached all across the Haram, and was defended on the north by the fosse now called Bethesda.

This theory is open to the following objections:—

1. According to Robinson, the Temple would thus be a square of about 932 feet; but Josephus states again and again, both directly and indirectly, that the Temple was a square of only 600 feet. Had his account been an exaggeration we might have questioned his veracity; but, as his measurement in this instance is a depreciation, we cannot suspect it.

As regards the Middoth, which gives the length of each side of the square as 500 cubits, it is suggested by Robinson that the cubits meant are *not* of the ordinary kind, i. e. of five handbreadths of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches each, but of six hand-breadths.¹ Now it is much disputed whether the Jews had two different cubits; and, if they had, it is further insisted by some that the *smaller* one was *only* 15 inches, and that they adopted the larger one of 18 inches to accommodate their measurements to the usage of the nations about them, who all adopted the 18-inch cubit.² But admitting

¹ Rob. i. 291.

² Fergusson, 18.

that the ordinary cubit was about 18 inches, and the larger cubit $\frac{1}{5}$ more, or 21 inches, this would not make the 500 cubits of the Middoth equal to the 932 feet, though it would yield 875 feet. But in fact the Middoth does not use a different cubit from Josephus, but the same. How otherwise can it be explained that Josephus and the Middoth agree in all their principal measurements, with the exception of the outer ambits of the Temple? Both, for instance, say that the Chel was 10 cubits broad, the front of the Temple 100, the *ναός* 40, the adytum 20, and so on.¹ The reason why the Middoth differs as to the general circuit of the Temple is, that the author of it was strongly imbued with a priestly feeling; and as Ezekiel, but in a vision only, speaks of the sides of the Temple as of 500 cubits, the Middoth, addressing itself to its Jewish votaries, adopts the same mystic measure.² In a discrepancy between the Middoth and Josephus we cannot hesitate to follow the latter, who was personally acquainted with the localities, and wrote when living persons (and he had many enemies) could have refuted his statements.

2. Robinson, in advocating the view that Antonia reached all across the Haram, and therefore covered the whole northern side of the Temple, has displayed his usual ingenuity and learning, but the facts are too strong for him. If Antonia extended along the whole north side of the Temple, how could it be described as situate at the *north-west* corner of the Temple?³ How could Cestius, who had not possession of Antonia, have attacked the *north* side of the Temple, and attempted to

¹ Fergusson, 20.

² Ezek. xlii. 20. See Sept. version.

³ κατὰ γωνίαν μὲν δύο στοῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ πρώτου ἱεροῦ, τῆς τε πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄρκτον. — Bell. v. 5, 8.

burn the northern gate?¹ How could John and his faction have defended themselves against Titus, not only from Antonia, but also from the *northern* cloister?² How, when Titus reviewed his army at the north of the city, could the *north* of the Temple have been filled with spectators?³ Or lastly, how, when Antonia was razed by Titus, could three mounds have been cast up, two within the site of Antonia and one without it, and the latter against the *northern* cloister of the Temple?⁴

3. The foundations of the Temple were, according to Josephus, one solid unbroken mass, formed by scarping the sides of the rock, and carrying up a wall upon the scarpment, and then levelling the summit by casting the material into the hollows against the walls until the whole became an even surface.⁵ But if the Temple extended on the south to the south-east corner of the Haram, the foundations of the Temple in this part must have been quite different; for, after measuring 600 feet along the southern wall from west to east, we come to the triple gateway leading into vaults which extend from that point to the south-east angle, and therefore reaching 327 feet west, and running northward under the Haram to various lengths, according to the unevenness of the ground, but in some places as far as 247 feet. Neither could these vaults have supported the superstructure of the Temple, for the southern cloister consisted of four rows of columns, 37 feet high, and at least 5 feet in diameter;⁶ and the columns in the

¹ τὸ προσάρκτιον κλίμα. — *Bell.* ii. 19, 5.

² τῆς προσαρκτίου στοᾶς τοῦ ἱεροῦ. — *Bell.* v. 7, 3.

³ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ βόρειον κλίμα. — *Bell.* v. 9, 1.

⁴ τὸ δὲ ἔτερον ἔξω κατὰ τὴν βόρειον (στοάν). — *Bell.* vi. 2, 7.

⁵ *Ant.* xv. 11, 3.

⁶ *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

vaults are only 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 2 inches in section, and the arches between them so weak that the olive trees have struck their roots through them;¹ and we have the authority of Mr. Fergusson, a competent judge on a question of architecture, that these substructions would not have been adequate to the pressure of the massive Temple porticoes above.²

4. There is another architectural argument against the theory of Robinson. The southern cloister was of the Corinthian order, and stood in four rows, and Josephus happens to mention the exact number of pillars, viz. 162.³ The odd pair was for carrying the outer wall over the gate at the south-west corner leading to the bridge; and, rejecting these, we have 40 columns in each of the four rows. In general, around the cloisters, the columns next the wall were let into the wall; and, if this was so at both ends of the royal colonnade, there would be only 39 intercolumniations; but, as the two odd pillars stood at the gateway at the western end, the next columns to them must have stood free; so that we should thus have just 40 intercolumniations. Now, the length of the southern side of the Haram is 932 feet, which would yield about 23 feet for each intercolumniation, or rather for each epistyle measured from the centres of the columns. Fergusson pronounces that such an intercolumniation was utterly unknown to the architects of the ancient world; that the epistylia, for

¹ Bartlett, 157, with an illustration.

² Fergusson, 10. See his section, *Biblic. Dict. Jerus.* 1020.

³ 'In the present Mosque of Omar are twelve massive columns, and sixteen of less dimensions, all of the Corinthian order, and of ancient workmanship. The larger may be some of those of the outer Temple, and the smaller some of those of the inner Temple.' — *Bartlett*, 153.

instance, of the Pantheon at Rome, are only 15 feet ; those of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, 17 ; those of the Great Temple at Baalbec, 17 ; those of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus (somewhat apocryphal), under 20. At Baalbec one architrave is nearly 20 ; and one at Palmyra nearly 23 ; but these are over principal entrances or gateways, and intercolumniations of such a length as 23 feet are nowhere found in succession. We should add, that in the above calculation we have not deducted from the length of the southern side the thickness of the walls at each end. However, allowing 24 feet for the two walls (12 feet each), and deducting that from the 932, and dividing the result by 40, we have still more than 22 feet for the intercolumniation, a measure out of all architectural proportion.

5. Another objection, which we shall state very briefly, is this : Josephus, in his account of the old wall of the High Town, mentions that it ran up to the eastern cloister of the Temple.¹ But the south-east angle of the present Haram hangs over a very steep precipice on the east and south, and this notwithstanding the accumulation of rubbish and debris in that part for a series of ages ; so that, in ancient time, the fall must have been much more rapid.² A wall, therefore, to the south could not have been wanted, and the placing of one there would be neither more nor less than 'building castles in the air.'

6. We learn from Josephus that, in the siege by Titus, John, who had possession of the Temple, erected four towers — one at the north-east corner of the

¹ Bell. v. 4, 2.

² Wilson, i. 419. Stewart, Tent and Khan, 322. According to Williams (Holy City, ii. 317), the fall here is 129 feet ; and according to Robinson (i. 232), 150 feet.

Temple, another at the north-west corner, another at the south-west corner, and the remaining one over the Pastophoria.¹ From the way in which reference is made to them, it is probable that these Pastophoria stood exactly at the south-east corner of the Temple; but at all events their situation must have been either there or in immediate proximity. But if the south-east corner of the Temple was identical with the south-east corner of the Haram, no building there would have been practicable.

We may add, in conclusion, that ably as Robinson has advocated his views, they have not commanded the general assent of those who have visited the spot.

Thirdly. We now approach Mr. Williams's theory. Robinson and Williams both insist that the Temple reached east and west all across the present Haram; but they differ in this, that Robinson places the square of the Temple at the south, and adds Antonia at the north to make up the existing rectangle; whereas Williams, on the contrary, places the square of the Temple at the north, and considers the southern portion to be the accretion.

The keystone of Williams's position is that the Sukrah, or holy rock, the centre of the Mosque of Omar, represents the site of the high altar of the Temple, and his argument is, no doubt, entitled to respect. It is only after weighing the proposition carefully in conjunction with the other particulars furnished by Josephus that we find ourselves under the necessity of abandoning so attractive a scheme. The data upon which Williams relies are as follows:—Within the Haram is an elevated

¹ *παστοφώρια*. — *Bell.* iv. 9, 12. These Pastophoria were the chambers of the priests, and, accordingly, the chamber of Johanan (*Ezra* x. 6) is translated by Josephus *παστοφώριον* (*Ant.* xi. 5, 4).

terrace, measuring, according to Catherwood, 550 feet north and south, and 450 east and west, and varying in height; but, according to Barclay, averaging about 10 feet (the height at the north being under 5 and at the south over 10),¹ but, according to Bartlett,² averaging as much as 15 or 16 feet. Nearly in the middle of this terrace, but about one third, or 320 feet, nearer to the west than to the east wall of the Haram, stands the Mosque of Omar, and within the mosque is the holy rock, or Sukrah, 60 feet one way by 50 or 55 feet the other, and rising about 5 feet from the floor of the mosque, which itself, in this part, is said to be about 12 feet above the general level of the Haram; so that the height of the Sukrah is in all 17 feet above the ordinary level.³

Now, argues Williams, within the outer Temple was an inner Temple of higher elevation, and within that an inmost Temple, the Court of the Priests, of higher elevation still. Hence he concludes that the inmost Temple, which contained the sacred edifice, stood upon the present Platform which supports the mosque; and the Sukrah, or culminating rock within the mosque, must be the site of the altar. Nay, further, he would confirm this hypothesis by an argument drawn from the Mid-doth, which states incidentally that under the altar was a chamber for cleansing the sewer by which the blood of the victims was drained into the Valley of Cedron; and he points to the singular fact, that under the Sukrah is a chamber, excavated in the rock, 15 feet square and 8 feet high, with an opening at the top, and a corresponding slab of marble in the floor, which rings hollow,

¹ Barclay, 497.

² Bartlett, 152.

³ See the section of the Temple and Platform in Bartlett, 165.

and no doubt covers an orifice ; and he would therefore have us believe that this Sukrah is the very spot on which stood the altar, and that the sewage of the altar passed through this chamber which is excavated under the Sukrah.

This scheme is *primâ facie* very plausible. Let us examine carefully what weight is due to the argument itself, and what objections lie against it.

First, then, does it follow that, because the Sukrah is the highest point of the Haram, therefore it was the site of the altar? Let us assume for a moment what we shall prove hereafter, that the Temple, described by Josephus as 600 feet square, stood at the south-west corner of the Haram. In that case Fort Antonia would be situate just where we now find the Sukrah. Which then was the higher, the Temple or Fort Antonia? Fortunately, Josephus has enabled us to determine this point; for he tells us that from the Outer Temple the ascent to the Inner Temple was by fourteen steps,¹ at the top of which was a wall measuring within 25 cubits, but on the outside, including the steps which were part of it, 40 cubits. The steps, therefore, were 15 cubits, or about a cubit each. Thus far the height of the ground was $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Then followed another flight of five steps,² which, taking the steps as before to be about a cubit each, would add $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet, making 30 feet. There was then another flight of twelve steps,³ or 18 feet, and making in the whole 48 feet; and that the height could not much have exceeded this, may be inferred from the accidental mention in the 'Wars,' that the

¹ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα βαθμοῖς. — Bell. v. 5, 2.

² πεντέξαθμοι κλίμακες. — Bell. v. 5, 2.

³ δώδεκα βαθμοῖς. — Bell. v. 5, 3.

timbers cut on Mount Lebanon for the repairs of the Temple were of sufficient 'length' to reach, at the back of the Temple where were no steps, from the floor of the outer court to the level of the Inner Temple.¹ Such was the utmost height of the Temple without the altar, which was not the natural rock, but built of unhewn stones; but even, if we add the altar, which was 15 cubits, or $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet,² we should obtain only $70\frac{1}{2}$ feet. What is the historian's account of Fort Antonia? That the rock upon which it was constructed was 50 cubits or 75 feet high,³ so that it was 5 feet higher than the altar, and omitting the altar, as we ought to do, was 27 feet higher. The greater height of the Sukrah, therefore, would rather indicate that it is the site of Antonia, and not of the altar.

But how are we to deal with the startling fact, so strongly insisted on by Williams, that the chamber under the Sukrah is the identical one which was excavated below the altar? If it be so, the description in the Middoth ought to tally with the existing chamber in all particulars; and Williams suggests that such is the case, and especially calls attention to the remarkable fact, that the descent to the chamber under the Sukrah is at the *south-east* corner, the very corner where the Middoth places it. The words of the Middoth (according to the Latin version,⁴ which I presume is correct) are

¹ ἔξαρκούν τὸ μῆκος εὐρὼν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθύπερθεν ἱεροῦ μαχομένους. — *Bell.* v. 1, 5.

² πεντεκαίδεκα μὲν ὕψος ἦν πηχῶν. — *Bell.* v. 5, 6.

³ *Bell.* v. 5, 8.

⁴ 'Cornu autem inter occidentem et austrum habebat duo foramina instar duarum narium, per quæ sanguis sparsus, cum super pulvium sui fundamentum occidentale tum super fundamentum australe, descendebat, et miscebatur uterque sanguis in canali ac effluebat in torrentem Kedron. Inferius in pavimento ad idem cornu erat locus

that the descent to the chamber was not at the *south-east* corner, but at the *south-west* corner ; not to mention that the entrance to the altar chamber is described as an opening of a cubit square, which does not at all correspond to the present broad staircase down to the cave under the Sukrah. The circumstance, therefore, so much relied upon to establish the identity of the two chambers, shows plainly that they are different.

What really was the use of the excavation under the Sukrah must be matter of conjecture. The sides of the chamber are whitewashed, but the northern side, on being struck, indicates a cavity in that direction, so that further discovery is needed.¹ Most of the great towers in Jerusalem appear to have had a subterranean escape, for when, at the siege by Titus, the company which had charge of the middle tower in the north wall were obliged to abandon it, they made their exit by an under-ground passage,² and similar means of retreat may have been provided for Antonia. We know, in fact, that a subterranean gallery did lead from Antonia to the Temple, for Antigonus was slain by his brother Aristobulus in such a passage from the Temple to the castle, called then Baris, afterwards Antonia,³ and this under-ground passage was probably under one of the towers of the Baris or Antonia, for the place where Antigonus was slain was named 'Straton's Tower.' We read, also, that when Herod restored and enlarged the Baris by the name of Antonia, he also repaired a sub-

quadratus unius cubiti, ubi tabulæ marmoreæ annulus infixus erat, qua descendebant in foveam seu camerinam, eamque purgabant.' — P. 365.

¹ Barclay, 498.

² Bell. v. 7, 4.

³ διέστησε [Aristobulus] τοὺς σωματοφύλακας ἐν τινὶ τῶν ὑπογείων ἀφωτίστω· κατέκειτο δὲ ἐν τῇ βάρει μετονομασθείσῃ δὲ Ἀντωνία. — *Ant.* xiii. 2.

terranean communication from Antonia to the tower over the eastern gate of the Inner Temple; and if, as we have supposed, the Temple stood at the south-west corner of the Haram, the Sukrah would be in a line with the eastern gate of the Temple. The opening in the floor of the chamber of the Sukrah may be thought of narrow dimensions for an entrance to an underground gallery, but we have seen from the Middoth, that the mouth of the descent into the chamber under the altar was only one cubit in diameter, which, supposing even the greater cubit to be used, would not exceed 21 inches; but, if the closed orifice in the floor of the chamber be equal to that in the ceiling, the diameter would be three feet, which would allow ample room. The whole neighbourhood, indeed, of the Temple was honeycombed with these secret underground avenues; and it is a threadbare tale how Simon, who was in the *upper city* at the capture by Titus, made his way through subterranean passages into the Temple, and there having dressed himself in white robes, suddenly rose from the ground like an apparition amongst the affrighted soldiery.¹

Another solution of the excavation under the Sukrah, and the most probable, is that this shaft, sunk in the floor of the chamber, and called Bir Arruah, or Well of Souls, was neither more nor less than a well of water for supplying Antonia. Beneath the Temple proper were spacious cisterns with draw-wells above; and it cannot be supposed that the citadel which commanded the Temple would be left destitute of one of the chief necessities of life. The orifice in the roof of the chamber is about a yard in diameter, and corresponds to the one below,² as if for the passage of a

¹ Bell. vii. 2, 2.

² Barclay, 497.

bucket. Just without the Haram, in a line due west, is now a well of great depth, the Hammâm es Shefa, also containing an under-ground chamber in connection with it.¹

We now proceed to the consideration of certain objections which lie against Mr. Williams's theory. In the first place, by locating the altar at the Sukrah he is obliged, for the purpose of making the Temple a square, as required both by Josephus and the Middoth, to insist that the vast stones and substructions at the south-east corner of the Haram, and the solid mass of masonry with the gigantic bridge at the south-west corner, never belonged to the Temple, but were added in the time of Justinian. Admitting that the substructions at the south-east corner were of a later age, who can believe that the huge bevelled stones and fragment of a bridge at the south-west corner were so, the very remains to which all travellers have pointed as the undoubted relics of at least the Herodian era? In support of his proposition, that the south-west corner was no part of the ancient Temple, but the addition of after ages, he reiterates the extraordinary mistake made by an English engineer in his survey of Jerusalem in 1841, that in the southern part of the western wall of the Haram are two reentering angles, thus breaking twice the straight line of the western wall; an error into which the engineer was probably led by the site of the Sheikh's house, and other buildings which stand in that quarter, partly within the wall of the Haram itself. There can be no doubt, however, from subsequent observations, that the west wall is one continuous line, without a break from north to south; and, if so, the whole fabric ingeniously

¹ Barclay, 528.

erected upon the engineer's hallucination falls to the ground.¹

Again, if the Temple square was the northern part of the Haram, and the altar was where Mr. Williams would place it, viz. on the Sukrah, the Inner Temple (on the supposition that the southern part was an accretion subsequently), instead of standing, as Josephus says, near the middle, or, as the Middoth affirms, nearer to the north than to the south, would be situate so close to the southern wall as to leave no room for the royal cloisters, which were 105 feet wide.

Again, it is part of Mr. Williams's theory that γέφυρα, the word used by Josephus, should be translated a causeway and not a bridge, and that the causeway referred to by him as communicating between the Temple and the High Town is the causeway now leading from the Haram to Temple street. But, according to Robinson, this causeway could never have led to the High Town, but must have run to the north of it; and this must be so, for the street which leads from the Jaffa Gate eastward along the foot of the High Town passes over the causeway to the Haram.² However, assuming that this causeway did touch (and it could only have touched) the northern brow of the High Town, what is the consequence? As the bridge was at the south-west corner of the Temple, and the causeway is not due east and west, but in its course from the Haram dips to the south, the whole of the Temple must have stood opposite the Inner Low Town, and not have been covered by any part of the High Town; instead of which, there is the strongest evidence that the Temple fronted the High Town; for the bridge, according to Josephus,

¹ Rob. iii. 177, 186. Fergusson's Notes on the Holy Sepulchre, p. 19.

² Rob. i. 267; iii. 187.

conducted to the Xyst, and thence to the *upper city*; and upon the edge of the High Town was the Palace of Agrippa,¹ overlooking the Xyst.² And we read that when Agrippa raised the roof of his palace, and so commanded a full view of the Temple and the proceedings in it, the Jews (as it was contrary to law that any one should watch the religious services, and especially the sacrifices)³ built a counter wall or screen upon the ἐξέδρα, or alcove, of the western wall of the Inner Temple,⁴ and so shut out the view of the altar from the palace. Thus much, therefore, is clear, that the western wall of the Temple lay in a direct line between the altar and Agrippa's house in the High Town; and as the altar stood before the vestibule of the Inner Temple, and was therefore due east, or nearly so, of the centre of the western wall, the altar and the centre of the western wall and Agrippa's Palace must have been in about the same line. In other words, the historian assumes the house of Agrippa in the High Town to be opposite the middle of the Temple on Mount Moriah, a location wholly at variance with the site of the altar as proposed by Mr. Williams.

As regards the theories both of Dr. Robinson and Mr. Williams, we may remark that neither of them can

¹ That the Palace of Agrippa was in the High Town is clear from Bell. ii. 17, 6.

² αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἐπάνω τοῦ Ξυστοῦ πρὸς τὸ πέραν τῆς ἄνω πόλεως, καὶ γέφυρα τῷ Ξυστῷ τὸ ἱερὸν συνήπτεν. — Bell. ii. 16, 3. ἴσταται [Titus] κατὰ τὸ πρὸς δύσιν μέρος τοῦ ἔξωθεν ἱεροῦ, ταύτῃ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ξυστὸν ἦσαν πύλαι, καὶ γέφυρα συνάπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν. — Bell. vi. 6, 2; and see Bell. vi. 8, 1; i. 7, 2; vi. 3, 2; v. 4, 2; vi. 6, 3; iv. 9, 12. Ant. xiv. 4, 2; xv. 11, 5.

³ τὰς ἱερουργίας. — Ant. xx. 8, 11.

⁴ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξέδρας ἥτις ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔσωθεν ἱερῷ τετραμμένη πρὸς δύσιν. — Ant. xx. 8, 11.

stand if we can prove an *alibi*; that is, if we can show affirmatively that the real site of the Temple was on a spot different from that advocated by either Dr. Robinson or Mr. Williams. We now, therefore, enter upon the question, where the Temple is really to be placed, and, after a careful examination of all the passages in Josephus that have any bearing upon the subject, we say with some confidence that the Temple stood at the south-west corner of the Haram. We shall first adduce the arguments upon which we rest the hypothesis, and we shall then answer some objections which may be thought to militate against it.

1. In the first place, the Temple is described both by Josephus¹ and the Middoth as being a square, and therefore rectangular. But the only angle of the Haram which is a right angle is the south-western,² and, if so, at that corner only could the Temple have stood. Fergusson remarks that, 'in all the temples of Palmyra, Baalbec, Athens, &c., of about this age, the temenoi [meaning, I presume, *temenē*], or enclosures, are, without exception, exactly rectangular.'³ But further, if we measure 600 feet eastward from the south-west corner we come to the triple gate leading into the substructions; and here again the angle formed by the south wall of the Haram, and the wall running north from the triple gate, being, as we contend, the eastern wall of the Temple is also a right angle.

2. Another feature of the Temple is that noticed a little before, viz. that a screen raised upon the western wall of the Inner Temple excluded the view of the altar from the Palace of Agrippa; and if we identify the

¹ Bell. vi. 5, 4.

² Fergusson, 6. But see Rob. iii. 164; Barclay, 484

³ Fergusson, 6.

south-west corner of the Haram with the site of the Temple this would be the case, for, as the Palace of Agrippa was certainly seated on the edge of the High Town, it would, on this supposition, be in the same direct line east and west with the western wall of the Temple and the altar.¹

3. The account of Josephus is that the Temple, 600 feet square, was formed by Solomon by scarping the rock in the exterior, and then filling up the hollows round the walls with the debris obtained by levelling the summit;² and just such is the square of 600 feet at the south-western corner of the Haram. If we measure 600 feet from the south-west corner along the southern wall, we come to a wall running off north, partly scarped and partly built of masonry, being the old eastern wall of the Temple.³ And again, if we measure 600 feet from the south-west corner along the western wall, we then trace a distinct line of demarcation, a wall or scarpment running due east across the Haram,⁴ being the northern boundary of the Temple. And again, this wall or scarpment entirely ceases at the distance of just 600 feet from the western wall, showing that the Temple square extended no further in that direction.⁵ It is also remarkable that at the distance of 600 feet from the south-western corner the western wall of the Haram changes its direction and diverges slightly to the west;⁶ and this is an additional proof that the Temple did not reach beyond the 600 feet, for

¹ See ante, p. 409.

² See Ant. viii. 3, 9; xv. 11, 3. Bell. v. 5, 1.

³ Barclay, 506.

⁴ Fergusson, 16.

⁵ Bibl. Dict., art. Jerus. 1021.

⁶ This appears from Catherwood's Survey. Fergusson's Notes on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, p. 18.

it cannot be supposed that the wall of the Temple was otherwise than one undeviating straight line.

That this square of 600 feet at the south-west corner of the Haram is all solid, with the exception of cisterns and subterraneous passages, cannot be doubted;¹ for at the south-west corner is the fragment of the vast bridge, which could only have rested against a solid embankment. And again, half-way along the south side of this square is a passage leading off northward from the double gate (of which we shall say more presently), and on the *left* of this passage an attempt has at some time or other been made, but in vain, to penetrate the solid mass;² and on the *right* of the same passage the space between the double gateway and the eastern termination of the 600 feet is also solid, as the keepers of the Haram affirm.³ At present, as the spectator contemplates the southern part of the Haram extending 932 feet east and west, it displays a uniform surface, and he forgets that, after measuring off 600 feet from the western end, all to the east consists merely of a few feet of earth resting upon no solid foundation, but ill supported by under-ground columns. If this slight superstructure were removed, we should then see an embankment of 600 feet abutting east upon the ravine running down to the Valley of Cedron.

4. Josephus assigns to the Temple a bridge conducting from it to the upper city; and not only so, but tells us that the bridge led from the south-west corner of the Temple.⁴ We walk to the south-west corner of the Haram, and there we find the remains of the bridge,

¹ Barclay, 511. Bartlett's Jerus. Revis. 160.

² Barclay, 511.

³ Barclay, 511. Bartlett's Jerus. Revis. 160.

⁴ Ant. xiv. 4, 2. Bell. i. 7, 2; ii. 16, 3; vi. 6, 2; vi. 8, 1.

the pier or foot of an immense arch measuring 51 feet along the wall north and south, and consisting of vast stones, one of them $20\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, and another $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The chord of the arc which is left measures 12 feet 6 inches, the sine 11 feet 6 inches, and the versed sine 3 feet 10 inches.¹ The distance of the bridge from the foot of the High Town is about 350 feet, and the span of the arch, if perfect, would be 40 feet.² If the bridge was continued up to the High Town itself, there must have been a succession of several arches, say five or six ; but it is not plain from Josephus how far the bridge reached, as in one place he speaks of it as connecting the Temple with the Xyst, which was at the foot of the High Town,³ and at another as connecting the Temple with the High Town itself.⁴ It suffices for our present purpose to show that here we have the bridge to which Josephus refers, and, consequently, that here must have stood the south-western corner of the Temple.

5. Another argument derived from the bridge in connection with the royal cloister is an architectural one, and first suggested by Mr. Fergusson. It is this : The cloister at the south consisted of a nave 45 feet wide, with two aisles, each 30 feet wide, making together 105 feet. The centre of the cloister, therefore, would be $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet from each side. To this we must add the thickness of the wall ; and as Josephus gives the breadth of the Inner Temple wall at 8 cubits, or 12 feet,⁵ we may assume the outer wall to have been

¹ See view of the remains of the bridge in Traill's Josephus, i. 225, 105 ; Bartlett's Jerus. 135.

² Robinson, i. 287 ; iii. 221. Barclay, 102.

³ καὶ γέφυρα τῷ Ξυστῷ τὸ ἱερὸν συνῆπτεν. — Bell. ii. 16, 3.

⁴ γέφυρα συνάπτουσα τῷ ἱερῷ τὴν ἄνω πόλιν. — Bell. vi. 6, 2.

⁵ ὄντα ὀκτάπηχυν τὸ εὖρυς. — Bell. vi. 5, 1.

of the same dimensions; and then the 12 feet added to the $52\frac{1}{2}$ feet would make $64\frac{1}{2}$ feet as the distance of the centre of the royal cloister from the south-west corner. Let us next see what is the distance of the centre of the bridge from the same point. From the corner to the bridge is 39 feet, and the bridge extends along the wall 51 feet, so that the centre of the bridge would be just $64\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the south-west corner. Thus the centre of the bridge and the centre of the cloister coincide to a nicety. Further, the bridge was in all 51 feet wide; and, if we allow three feet on each side for the parapets, the remaining 45 feet, the roadway in the middle, would exactly answer to the central nave of the cloister, which was just 45 feet wide. Can these correspondences have been purely accidental? Is it not evident that the bridge was constructed for the cloister, or the cloister for the bridge, and that the bridge and central nave together formed the grand approach to the Temple?

6. But now that we are speaking of the royal cloister, there is still another very powerful argument to be drawn from it in confirmation of our view. We have already observed that the columns of the southern cloister stood in four rows, and were 162 in number; and leaving out the two columns which, as the central nave was 45 feet wide, were required for carrying the western wall, with an intercolumniation of 15 feet, over the bridge, each row consisted of 40 pillars. Now, if the Temple extended along the southern side for 600 feet, the intercolumniations, or rather the epistyles, measured from the centre of one column to the centre of the next, would be 15 feet, which, as the pillars were about 5 feet in diameter and 37 feet high,¹

¹ Ant. xv. 11, 5.

would be just the usual and ordinary intercolumniation adopted in the ancient temples. Fergusson, speaking architecturally of the intercolumniation, observes: 'Were I restoring this stoa [cloister] without knowing what number of columns it contained, I certainly would adopt something between 14 and 16 feet, as the limit each way.'¹

7. Again, the Temple, according to Josephus, contained gates in the southern wall at or about the middle.² Not a gate (πύλην), but gates (πύλας), i. e. a double doorway. The Middoth confirms this, and assigns to the gates the name of Huldah. Assuming 600 feet along the southern side of the Haram from the west to be the southern wall of the Temple, we find just such a gate towards the middle, i. e. 365 feet from the west end, and 235 from the eastern end. The reason why the gateway was not exactly in the middle, was that the passage led up to one of the gates of the Inner Temple, which on the south had four gates. The architect had to choose of the two middle ones either the eastern or the western, and he naturally chose the eastern, as nearest to the most frequented part of the Temple.³ This double gateway is of ancient masonry, and running from it is a vaulted vestibule 42 feet in width and 52 in length, in the centre of which is a monolithic column, 6 feet 6 inches in diameter and 21 feet high, crowned with a foliated capital of great beauty, and thought to be of the age of Herod.⁴ If so it no doubt supported one of the columns of the

¹ Fergusson, p. 9.

² τὸ δὲ τέταρτον αὐτοῦ μέτωπον, τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, εἶχε μὲν πύλας κατὰ μέσον. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

³ Fergusson, p. 14.

⁴ Fergusson, p. 14. See sketch of the pillar in Fergusson, p. 15.

royal cloister. Now mark the position of this column. It stands 42 feet from the outer wall; but we have seen that the outer wall of the Temple was 12 feet broad, and that the aisle which stood next it was 30 feet wide, making together the exact measurement of 42 feet! How can this be the result of accident?

At the middle of the northern end of this vestibule is an oval pillar, 6 feet 8 inches by 5 feet 4 inches, and from this point run off two passages, divided throughout by either piers or pillars.¹ The left-hand passage is the only one now open. It rises from the oval pillar by nine steps, which occupy a space of about 19 feet in length; then is horizontal for 124 feet; then ascends by a gentle inclined plane for $25\frac{1}{2}$ feet; then is level for 38 feet, and then terminates by a flight of steps leading up to the Haram. The whole length is said to be 259 feet.² The entire workmanship of these vaulted passages is characteristically Jewish, with the exception of some trifling Turkish additions. The vestibule, indeed, has been considerably Romanised; and the entablature on the exterior is also referable to Roman taste.³ But the bevelling of the stones in the vestibule is still apparent, notwithstanding the attempt of subsequent architects to bring the walls, by chipping and chiselling, to an even surface.⁴ Can it then be doubted that this passage is the Huldah Gate, and that it terminated at or near one of the gates of the Inner Temple?

¹ See view of the double gateway in Traill's Josephus, i. xvii. and xxii.; of the vestibule, *ibid.* xvii. xli.; of the subterranean passage generally, *ibid.* 96; and of the plan and elevation of it, *ibid.* xxiv. See also views in Barclay, 488, 510.

² Barclay, p. 511. There appears to be some error in the details or in the total.

³ Barclay, 511.

⁴ Traill's Josephus, xviii.

As Josephus describes the Inner Temple in general terms as standing in the middle of the outer one, and having four gates on the south, and as the Outer Temple was 600 feet every way, and the Huldah Gate is 365 feet from the western corner, it probably conducted to the most easterly of the two middle gates of the Inner Temple.

8. The gates of the Temple furnish a still further argument. Josephus states that on the west side of the Outer Temple were four gates, one leading over the bridge and therefore the most southern; two other gates leading down to the suburb;¹ and another descending by steps into the valley, and then up again to the Inner Low Town. As the roadway from the High Town led over the bridge to the southern cloister, we may conclude that the approach on the north from the Inner Low Town led to the northern cloister: a confirmation of which is, that while Simon built a tower over the Bridge Gate, at the south-western corner of the Temple, he erected another at the north-western corner, the object of which must have been to command the entrance there into the Temple. The two intervening suburb gates would, therefore, probably stand at regular intervals, in the space between the southern cloister and the northern cloister. The south wall was 12 feet thick, and the southern cloister 105 feet wide, making together 117 feet; and the north wall was also 12 feet thick, and the northern cloister 30 feet wide, making together 42 feet; and deducting these two spaces of 117 feet and 42 feet (= 159 feet) from 600 feet, which was the length of the western wall, we have 441 feet for the interval between the

¹ αἱ ἑὶς δύο εἰς τὸ προάστειον. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

north and south cloisters. If the two suburb gates were equidistant, we have to divide the 441 feet by 3 = 147 feet, the distances of each gate from the other and from the cloisters. The southern of the two suburb gates would, therefore, stand at the distance of 117 feet + 147 feet, or 264 feet from the south-western corner; and accordingly an ancient doorway has been discovered¹ on the west side, about 270 feet (called by mistake *yards*) from the south-west corner, i.e. within 6 feet of the spot where the centre of it would stand by the above calculation.² As we are not told what part of the gate is at the distance of 270 feet, the approximation may possibly be brought still nearer. 20 feet 2 inches of the lintel in length and 6 feet 9 inches in breadth are alone now visible, the rest being occluded by the house of Abu Seud Effendi on the south side and by the accumulation of soil. It formerly led up to the Temple by a flight of steps, and the portal of it in the interior of the Haram still remains, and is 14 or 15 feet wide. This gate, as it was next Shallecheth, the Bridge Gate, was probably Parbar, which is mentioned in connection with Shallecheth. 'At Parbar westward, four [Levites were] at the causeway [the bridge], and two at Parbar.'³ The gates at the causeway or royal cloister were double, and together 45 feet wide, and required four guards; while the next gate being single demanded only two. Parbar in Hebrew signifies 'outer place,' or is a corruption of Parvar, 'suburb';⁴ and in either case

¹ See view of it from the exterior, Barclay, 489; and from the interior, *ibid.* 490.

² Barclay, 489. And see Williams, ii. 309; Stewart, *Tent and Khan*, 273.

³ 1 Chron. xxvi. 18.

⁴ Lightfoot.

agrees with the description of Josephus, that this gate conducted to the suburb. The other suburb gate has not been discovered, but, as it probably stood about 147 feet to the north of Parbar, it should be looked for at the distance of about 411 feet from the south-west corner, or a little to the south of the Mekhimeh. However, the approach to this gate was very likely by an external flight of steps which has been broken away, and no trace may now be recoverable, unless the cavities and projections in the stones at the Wailing-place were connected with some flight of steps.¹

9. The royal cistern for supplying the Temple with water was also lately discovered by Barclay.² It lies about 400 feet from the west wall of the Haram, and 400 feet from the south wall, and this would place it (as we have located the Temple) under the Court of the Women. A rude subterranean passage leads down to it by a flight of steps. The reservoir, supported by ill-shaped massive pieces of rock, which might have been formerly covered with metal, measures in circumference 736 feet, and is 42 feet deep, and capable of holding nearly two millions of gallons. It has eight apertures above for draw-wells, but only one of them still remains open. The aqueduct is said to enter it on the west, but the conduit has not been observed.³

Under El Aksa, also to the south-west of the royal cistern, is another cistern 47 feet deep, which is thought by Barclay to be supplied with water from the royal cistern, though the communication was not noticed.⁴

Half-way also between the Mosque of Omar and El Aksa is a fountain, and in the same line to the south in

¹ See Barclay, 491.

² See view of it, Barclay, 526.

³ Barclay, 525.

⁴ Barclay, 527.

El Aksa is a well; and this fountain and well, if the Temple stood at the south-west corner, would be situate at the eastern extreme of the Inner Temple, one to the north and the other to the south; and the Middoth speaks expressly of a draw-well at the latter spot.¹

These cisterns, fountain, and well, all within the square of 600 feet at the south-west corner of the Haram, seem to indicate strongly where the Temple formerly stood.

10. Of all the evidences, the one perhaps entitled to the greatest respect is the testimony of the Jews themselves by the immemorial custom of assembling at what is called the Wailing-place, to bemoan the loss of their beloved sanctuary.² The tradition carries value with it, as one accompanied with a ceremony, and that not attractive from outward gaud, or as ministering to pleasure or amusement, but it is the outpouring of a broken spirit, and one which could only have originated in the destruction of their Temple, and must have been coeval with that event, and thence transmitted from generation to generation. Where then is the Wailing-place found? Where is the spot which the Jews have ever believed to be the nearest approach to the site once occupied by the Holy of Holies and the high altar? In general terms the Wailing-place is described as to the north of the Mougrebin Gate, and to the south of the Mekhimch.³ The most precise description of it is in Barclay, who states it to extend along 40 yards, or 120 feet, of the western wall of the Haram, commencing at 100 yards, or 300 feet, from the south-west corner.

¹ Fergusson, 28, 72.

² See views of the Wailing-place, Traill's Josephus, ii. 225; Bartlett's Jerus. 140; Barclay, 493.

³ Stewart, Tent and Khan, 272. Rob. i. 237. Bartlett, 140.

Thus it would reach from a point 300 feet from the corner to 420 feet from the corner. Where then, supposing the Temple to have occupied the south-west corner of the Haram, would be the Sanctuary? The Inner Temple stood about the middle of the Outer Temple, or rather at nearly equal distances from the northern and southern cloisters. The southern cloister being with the outer wall 117 feet, and the northern cloister with the wall 42 feet, and the whole west side being 600 feet, the space between the cloisters would be 441 feet, so that the centre of the Inner Temple would be $117 \text{ feet} + 220\frac{1}{2} \text{ feet}$, i. e. $337\frac{1}{2} \text{ feet}$ from the south-west corner. It would therefore be within the Wailing-place; and the invariable practice of the Jews is in strict conformity with the general description, and even the particular measurements, of Josephus. This, again, can scarcely be set down as an accidental coincidence.

11. There are some other circumstances which, though nothing in themselves, may yet be thought in the gross to carry weight. Thus the colonnades, by our plan, would reach from the south wall to a line drawn across the Haram, a little below the Golden Gate, and it is in this space that fragments of marble columns have been dug up within the Haram,¹ and are found built into the eastern wall.² Again, the Temple extended along the south wall as far as the triple gate, and here is observed a stone with a beautiful moulding on one edge, and which Barclay³ thinks must have formed part of the decoration round the top of the old Temple wall. Again, two statues were erected by the Romans on the site of the Temple, opposite the Wailing-

¹ Barclay, 486.

² Williams, ii. 366.

³ Page 491.

place.¹ And it has been surmised, and is probably the fact, that the two statues were not both of them of Hadrian, but one of Hadrian and the other of Antoninus Pius; and the stone containing the inscription at the foot of the statues, which seem to have stood together, has been built into the south wall of the Haram, at the gate Huldah, and contains the names of both emperors: 'Tito Hadriano Antonino Aug. Pio P. P. Pontif. Augur. D. D. P. P.'²

We now proceed to notice a few points which may be urged as objections to our theory of the site of the Temple, but are capable of easy explanation:—

1. It may be said that Josephus expressly states the southern cloister to have run from valley to valley,³ and therefore it must have extended to the eastern wall of the Haram. But the question is, Where was the Valley of Jehoshaphat considered to begin, and where did the embankment of Solomon end? If we take away the substructions at the south-east corner of the Haram, we then find the solid embankment extending from the south-west corner for 600 feet along the southern wall, and then a slope down to the eastern wall of the Haram. By saying that the southern cloister ran from valley to valley, Josephus means only that it ran from the Tyropæon Valley to the slope which, beginning at 600 feet from the south-west corner, descends into the Valley of Jehoshaphat. We have

¹ 'Sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Hadriani. Est et non longe de statuâ lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Judæi singulis annis, et unguent eum, et lamentant se cum gemitu et vestimenta sua scindunt, et sic recedunt.' — *Itin. Hieros.*

² Barclay, 492.

³ τὴν βασιλικὴν στοὰν τριπλὴν κατὰ μῆκος διῶονσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐφ' αὐτὴν φάραγγος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέριον, οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκτεῖναι προσωτέρω δυνατόν. — *Ant.* xv. 11, 5.

seen also, in a former page, that the intramural space between the eastern wall of the Temple and the eastern wall of the city is constantly referred to by Josephus as the 'so-called Cedron ravine;' and Josephus, in saying that the Temple extended from the western to the eastern ravine, may have meant by the latter the 'so-called Cedron ravine.'

2. It has been urged that at the north-west corner of the Haram is a rock from twenty to thirty feet high,¹ which is scarped on the exterior, and has been levelled by art in the interior, and therefore that Antonia must have stood on this point. But this circumstance, far from being an objection, is a strong confirmation of our hypothesis. The castle at the north-west corner of the Haram was not Antonia, but Acra, the famous Macedonian keep. The Temple, the Temple Mount or Antonia, and Acra, are all noticed by the Maccabees as distinct, and standing near to each other: 'Moreover the *Mount of the Temple*, that was by the *Acra*, he [Simon] made stronger than it was; and there he dwelt, himself with his company.'² As Simon could not dwell in the Temple itself, the Temple Mount can only mean the Baris or Antonia on the north of the Temple; and as the Acra was originally on a higher mount still, this could only be on the north of Antonia, in which direction the ridge of rock ascends. But the site of Acra was razed by Simon, and we see the result in the scarpment by way of outer wall on the north, and the levelled surface of the rock within the enclosure.

3. But, if the Temple occupied a square of 600 feet at the south-west corner, how, it may be asked, do you

¹ Barclay, 244, 486.

² 1 Macc. xiii. 52.

explain the substructions under the Haram at the south-east corner, for thus they would stand there supporting nothing?

Care colonne chè state quà ?
Non sappiamo in verità.

In the first place, opinions differ much as to the date of these substructions. Williams thinks they were erected by Justinian, and Fergusson maintains the same ;¹ Robinson regards them as ancient ;² and Barclay considers them as decidedly Jewish.³ If erected after the time of Titus, they can form no objection to our hypothesis, as we can then strip them off and show the scarped rock and massive wall of the Temple at the west end of the substructions. However, I think they must be regarded as much more ancient. The walls are of the same colossal bevelled stones as the Temple, and the pillars also are bevelled, and altogether have a Jewish aspect quite at variance with a later age.⁴ There is also an evident connection between these vaults and the Temple. At the entrance of the double gateway at the south, which is unquestionably the old Temple gate, Huldah, there is a closed door on the right ; and in the substructions there is, near the entrance by the triple gateway on the left, a corresponding door, so that, no doubt, a subterranean passage once existed between Huldah and the vaults ; and as this part of the Haram is a solid mass, it is very unlikely that such an underground communication should have been excavated subsequently to the original construction. Again, the triple gateway⁵ at the western

¹ Notes on Holy Sepulchre, 31.

² Rob. i. 305.

³ Barclay, 503.

⁴ See sketch by Barclay, 504.

⁵ See a sketch of it in Bartlett's *Jerus. Revis.* 149.

end of the vaults leads up to the north by a corresponding triple roadway, supported by columns, and separated from the rest of the vaults by a wall; and the most westerly of the three roads extends upward for 247 feet, and, what is remarkable, by an easy inclination, as if for an ascent to the Temple above.¹ One use, then, of the substructions is obvious. The sacrifices at the altar, particularly during the festivals, required an incredible number of oxen, sheep, and other cattle; and how were these to be kept in readiness out of sight and sheltered, especially in winter, from the inclemency of the weather? Stalls to an immense extent must have been provided somewhere, and the natural supposition is that they were here situate. The columns, though insufficient to carry the massive cloister of the Temple, were admirably adapted for sustaining, as they still do, a roof with a few feet of earth. It is not unlikely that they were erected by Solomon himself, partly as stables for the Temple victims, and partly for his own stud of so many thousand horses. During the Crusades they were used as stables, and from time immemorial have passed by the name of Solomon's stables.²

Lastly. It may be urged, that if the Temple was at the south-west corner, and did not stretch across to the Valley of Cedron, and particularly if the substructions were along the eastern side, how could Josephus say that if a spectator stood at the eastern end of the southern cloister, and looked down into the depth below, his eyes would swim at the sight of the immeasurable gulf?³ It will be remembered that the old wall of the city is distinctly said to have run along the eastern brow of Ophel, and to have joined the

¹ Barclay, 508.

² Barclay, 367.

³ Ant. xv. 11, à.

eastern cloister of the Temple, i.e. at the southern end of it. Now, a spectator placed at the point which Josephus describes would stand just at the angle formed by the city wall from the south, and the wall of the Temple plateau running from west to east; and posted thus at the eastern end of the southern cloister, and turning his eyes downward to the south-east, would have an uninterrupted view of the whole valley below, which happens here to have the greatest depth. No wonder, therefore, that if the extra height of the central nave of the southern cloister were added to the precipice below, the prospect should be as fearful as the historian depicts it. At no other point along the walls of the Temple could a spectator obtain such a view; and this, apparently, is the reason why Josephus, to heighten the effect, chooses to place the spectator, in imagination, at this particular spot.

APPENDIX.

THE BORDEAUX PILGRIM.

THE peregrination of the Pilgrim of Bordeaux about Jerusalem is very brief; and as it will elucidate the topography of some of the principal localities, we shall run through his notes, with some accompanying remarks.

‘There are,’ he says, ‘at Jerusalem two great pools at the *side* of the *Temple*, that is, one on the right hand and the other on the left, which Solomon made.’¹ One of these pools is, of course, Bethesda; and as he places it by the side of the *Temple*, he evidently uses the latter word in the same sense as Josephus, viz. the Temple Platform. As the Pilgrim makes his way from east to west, by the right and left hand must be intended the north and south; and thus Bethesda is the pool on the north, and that on the south must be the pool the ruins of which were traceable some years since near the south-east corner of the Temple Platform, but for which, perhaps, we should look in vain at the present day.²

‘But more within the city are two twin pools, having five porches, which are called Bethsaida. Here the sick of many years were wont to be healed, but these pools have water which, when agitated, is of a kind of red colour.’³ Before

¹ Itin. Hieros.

² Tobl. Top. ii. 78.

³ ‘Interiori vero civitatis sunt piscine gemellares quinque porticus habentes, quæ appellantur Betsaida. Ibi ægri multorum annorum sanabantur, aquam autem habent eæ piscine in modum coccini turbatam.’ — *Itin. Hieros.*

we comment upon this passage, it will be as well to cite the language of Eusebius, the contemporary of the Pilgrim, upon the same subject. In his *Onomasticon* he speaks of Bethesda as 'a pool at Jerusalem, which is the *Piscina Probatica*, and had formerly five porches, and now is pointed out at the twin pools there, of which one is filled by the rains of the year, but the other exhibits its water tinged in an extraordinary manner with red, retaining a trace, they say, of the victims that were formerly cleansed in it.'¹ From this legend of the water taking its colour from the blood of the victims, it is evident that the twin pools were immediately contiguous to the Temple enclosure; and from the words of the Itinerary, that they lay 'more within the city' than the two which he had described before, they must be looked for on the west or city side; and as the pool to the south of the Temple enclosure was, in fact, without the walls, the Pilgrim must mean that the twin pools were to the west of the northern pool. I was disposed to think, at one time, that the twin pools might be found along the west side of the Temple Platform; for at the present day, under the western wall of the Haram, is a pool called the Mekhimeh, commencing at the causeway and reaching 84 feet northward, and which is 42 feet wide; and still more to the north, near the Hammam es Shefa, is another quite large pool.² But there are two objections to this theory; for, in the first place, the Mekhimeh pool is roofed in, and, in fact, is a vast cistern; and the Pilgrim usually makes a distinction between pools which he calls *Piscine*, and cisterns, which he calls *Excepturia*. And again, it is not easy to see *why* the Mekhimeh and the pool above it should be called the *twin* pools; for though they lie near to each other, they are not side by side, and apparently have no connection. But if we turn to the west of the great pool at the north of the Haram, we come upon the true import of the terms employed by the Pilgrim and by Eusebius; for at the south-west corner of Bethesda are two arched vaults side by side, running out westward, one about 12 feet wide and the other about 19 feet

¹ Euseb. *Onomast.*, artic. *Βηθεσδα*; and see Jerome's translation.

² Barclay, 538.

wide,¹ and both reaching from 130 to 140 feet in length, and both stuccoed, so that evidently at one time they were reservoirs for water.² These, then, are the twin pools, and answer to the Pilgrim's description of being 'more within the city' than the great pool. Both of them are now dry, but the northern one is the more filled with rubbish;³ and this again agrees with the account of Eusebius, that one of the pools was dry except when filled by the winter rains. The other, or southern pool, still, in Eusebius's time, held water, but the foulness of it may have given occasion to the legend that it retained the red tinge of the blood of the victims.

It is worthy of remark that the Jews call Bēthesda the Pool of the Blood-offering,⁴ from their traditions that the victims were once cleansed in it. Indeed, the word Bethesda signifies, in Hebrew, the House of Washing.⁵ Eusebius, it will be observed, identifies Bethesda with the Piscina Probatica, and the great pool at the north of the Haram has from that time to the present been uniformly known as the Piscina Probatica.⁶

Assuming these parallel pools to be the twin pools referred to by the Pilgrim and Eusebius, we have their testimony that here was Bethesda. But how, then, it will be said, are the five porches to be accounted for? It must be remembered that in the course of so many centuries great alterations must have taken place in this part; and, though we can only conjecture what these changes have been, we can offer a probable conjecture. Josephus mentions that the Temple Platform was screened from Bezetha by a deep fosse,⁷ which would lead us to infer that it extended from the east at least as far westward as the rock on which once stood the Macedonian Acra. This was a long reach, and we may suppose that anciently, as now, a thoroughfare was formed across the fosse, and this would naturally be by arches or porches. At present there are only

¹ See views of Bethesda, Traill's Josephus, ii. 172; Bartlett's Jerus. Rev. 112.

² Rob. i. 330. Barclay, 321.

³ Tobl. Denk. 54.

⁴ Tobl. Denk. 53.

⁵ Tobl. Denk. 62.

⁶ בית אכרסא.

⁷ Bell. v. 4, 2.

two arches on the south of the western end of the Bethesda, but if the whole breadth was spanned by arches, then, as the fosse is 130 feet wide, five arches would be about the number required. It was under these arches, then, which would be very spacious, that the 'great multitude' spoken of by St. John were waiting for the moving of the waters.¹ Bethesda, or the *House of Washing*, leads to the inference that the pool was not merely an expanse of water, but that some parts at least were substantial buildings for the reception of persons frequenting it, and the five porticoes running across the pool would answer to this requirement. The term employed by John is *κολυμβήθρα* or the swimming-pool, which argues that the pool was one of great extent, and Bethesda is the largest of the pools in or about Jerusalem. If this pool at the north of the Temple Platform be not Bethesda, no other can be pointed out which could at all answer the description.

'There also is the crypt where Solomon was wont to torture the demons.'² This crypt may be the cave under the Sukrah, which has always been accompanied with some fearful superstition. The orifice in the floor of the chamber is, according to the Mahometans, the mouth of the infernal regions. At the present day, however, the tradition of Solomon's torture of the demons attaches itself to another locality in the vast substructions at the south-east corner of the Haram.³

'There is the corner of the most lofty tower where the Lord went up, and he who tempted him said, &c.; and the Lord said unto him, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, but Him only shalt thou serve." There also is the great corner-stone, of which it is said, "The stone which the builders refused,"' &c.⁴ The Pilgrim here describes the south-east angle of the Haram, the vast stones of which, from that time

¹ John v. 3.

² 'Est ibi et cripta ubi Solomon dæmones torquebat.' — *Itin. Hieros.*

³ Barclay, 509.

⁴ 'Ibi est angulus turris excelsissimæ ubi Dominus ascendit, et dixit ei is qui tentabat eum . . . et ait ei Dominus: Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum sed illi soli servies. Ibi est lapis angularis magnus de quo dictum est; Lapidem quem reprobaverunt ædificantes.' — *Itin. Hieros.*

to the present, have called forth the astonishment of every beholder.

'Also, at the head of the corner, and under the pinnacle of the tower itself, are numerous chambers where Solomon had his palace. There also is the chamber in which he sat and wrote the Wisdom; but the chamber itself is covered with a single stone.'¹ Here the Pilgrim refers, undoubtedly, to the extensive subterranean vaults at the south-east corner of the Haram, then called the Palace, and now the Stables of Solomon. The chamber in which Solomon is said to have written the Book of Wisdom is the one at the south-east point, now called the Cradle of Jesus. The entrance from above is by a flight of steps which leads down to 'a subterranean chamber, in the middle of which, laid on the floor, is a sculptured niche in the form of a sarcophagus, with a canopy above.'²

'There also are great cisterns of water under ground, and pools constructed with great labour.'³ The cisterns here spoken of are, one of them the large cistern under the Mosque el Aksa;⁴ and the other the Royal cistern, recently discovered at the bottom of a flight of 44 steps at the north-east of the Mosque el Aksa, supported by rude columns of native rock and masonry, 736 feet in circuit and 42 feet in depth, and capable of containing 2,000,000 gallons.⁵ The pools which the Pilgrim here contrasts with the cistern were probably above ground, and one of them, therefore, may be identified with that over the Royal cistern, and which, in the time of the Crusades, was 'a basin and a dome supported by columns, and furnished water for the besieged and their cattle.'⁶ It is now a marble basin bordered with olive, orange, and cypress trees.⁷

¹ 'Item ad caput anguli et sub pinnâ turris ipsius sunt cubacula plurima ubi Solomon palatium habebat. Ibi etiam constat cubiculus in quo sedit et sapientiam descripsit. Ipse vero cubiculus uno lapide est tectus.'—*Itin. Hieros.*

² Rob. i. 302. Barclay, 502.

³ 'Sunt ibi et exceptoria magna aquæ subterraneæ et piscine magno opere ædificatæ.'—*Itin. Hieros.*

⁴ Barclay, 527.

⁵ Barclay, 526; where a sketch of it may be seen.

⁶ Rob. i. 301.

⁷ Rob. i. 301.

‘And in the fane itself, on the site of the temple which Solomon built, on the marble before the altar, you would say that the blood of Zachariah had been just spilt. Nay, traces of the nails of the soldiers who slew him are to be seen over the whole area, so that you would think that it was impressed on wax. There also are the two statues of Hadrian.’¹ The temple here spoken of must be that erected by Adrian to Jupiter, and expressly said by Dion to have been built on the site of the Jewish structure.² Of the two statues of Hadrian, one, which was equestrian, is said by Jerome to have stood in ‘the very Holy of Holies.’³

‘And not far from the statues is the Beating-stone,⁴ to which the Jews come *every year* and anoint it, and make lamentations with groans, and rend their garments, and so retire.’⁵ This touching custom of the Jews, which has continued from that time to the present, must necessarily refer to the Wailing-place in the western wall of the Haram, toward the south. The stones there are so worn away by the constant friction of the wailing multitudes, that the whole head may be buried in the cavities.⁶ We have seen that the Jewish Temple occupied a square of 600 feet at the southwest corner of the Haram; and, if so, the Temple of Jupiter, erected in its place, would stand on the same spot: and as one, if not both, of the statues, was in the Temple, the Beating-stone, if identical with the Wailing-place, would, as described,

¹ ‘Et in æde ipsa ubi templum fuit quod Solomon ædificavit, in marmora ante aram sanguinem Zachariæ ibi dicas hodie fusum. Etiam parent vestigia clavorum militum qui eum occiderunt in totam aream, ut putes in cerâ fixa esse. Sunt ibi et statuæ duæ Hadriani.’ — *Itin. Hieros.*

² καὶ ἐς τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ τόπον, νῦν τῇ Διὶ ἑτέρον ἀντεγείλαντος. — *Dion. lxi. 12.*

³ ‘De Hadriani equestri statuâ quæ in ipso Sancto Sanctorum loco usque in præsentem diem stetit.’ (Hieron. Comm. in Matt. xxi. 15.) ‘Ubi quondam erat Templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Jovis idolum collocatum.’ (Hieron. Comm. in Esaiam, ii. 8.) — *Cited by Robinson, i. 296.*

⁴ Or the stone that was beaten by the frantic grief of the mourners; as we say the Blowing-stone, for that which is blown into.

⁵ ‘Est et non longe de statuis lapis pertusus, ad quem veniunt Judæi singulis annis, et unguent eum, et lamentant se cum gemitu et vestimenta sua scindunt, et sic recedunt.’ — *Itin. Hieros.*

⁶ Traill's Josephus, xli.

be near the statues. It must not escape notice that the Jews came to wail '*every year*,' for by a decree of Adrian the Jews were prohibited, on pain of death, to approach their city.¹ But in the days of Constantine this severity was relaxed; and at last they were allowed, as here mentioned incidentally by the Pilgrim, to make a mournful procession to Jerusalem *once a year*.²

'There also is the house of Hezekiah, king of Judah.'³ Of this we know nothing. The rest of the Pilgrim's account has been inserted in the text.

¹ Rob. i. 369.

² Rob. i. 371.

³ 'Est ibi et domus Ezechiæ regis Judæ.'—*Itin. Hieros.*



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